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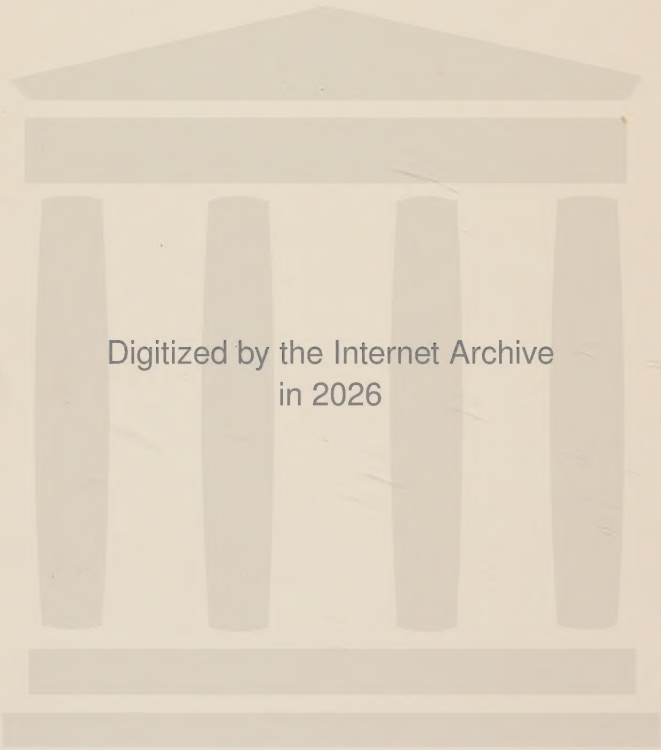

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AN ESSAY

ON THE

AUTHENTICITY

OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL.

BY THE

REV. J. M. FULLER, M.A.

ST JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
AND CURATE OF ST PETER'S PIMLICO.

CAMBRIDGE:
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TO MY FATHER,

THE REV. THOS. FULLER, M.A.

LATE FELLOW OF ST JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,

AND INCUMBENT OF ST PETER'S, PIMLICO,

This Essay

IS

DEDICATED

AS A TOKEN OF

FILIAL RESPECT AND AFFECTION.

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"*The Committee of the Subscribers to the late Bishop Kaye's Memorial at Lincoln, having offered the sum of* £500, 3 *per Cent. Consols for the foundation of a Prize to be called the Kaye Prize, to be given every fourth year to the graduate of not more than ten years' standing from his first degree, who shall write the best English Dissertation upon some subject or question relating to ancient Ecclesiastical History, or to the Canon of Scripture, or important points of Biblical criticism; the offer was accepted by Grace of the Senate, June* 6, 1861, *under the following conditions:*

"*The Prize to consist of the accumulation of interest on the Capital sum during the four years preceding, and the successful Candidate to print and publish his Dissertation at his own expense, and to send ten copies to the Cathedral Library at Lincoln, and one copy to the Vice-Chancellor, the Regius Professor of Divinity, and each of the two Examiners.*"—From The Cambridge University Calendar.

PREFACE.

It has been my endeavour in the following Essay to bring together the latest results of modern criticism upon the Book of Daniel. It is no disparagement to such excellent critics as Bertholdt, Hengstenberg, and their respective followers, to assert, that the criticism of twenty, or even of ten years ago, is in many points obsolete. Science, discovery, sounder methods of interpretation, a deeper acquaintance with philological and historical canons, have suggested the necessity of correcting many former views. The subject will be felt to be a large one, and I do not pretend to have succeeded in my intention. While I am writing[1] fresh works upon this subject have passed

[1] The opening statement of the Introduction concerning S. Hippolytus has been elaborated and established by a writer in the *Journal of Sacred Literature* (Jan. 1864). The new Vols. of Smith's *Dict.*, to which I have been able to make casual reference only, and of Herzog's *Rëal-Encyclop.;* a work of Hilgenfeld's on Ezra and Daniel, the second part directed against Zündel; Aberle's

and are passing through the press. But I may claim them as instances of the interest the whole question is exciting, not as superseding any individual effort. In my little work I have but endeavoured to do for my brother students in England what Zündel, to name the last, has done for Germany.

The limits imposed upon me were naturally those suggested by the title of this treatise. My work is an 'Essay,' not a book. I have not therefore thought it necessary to discuss points of minor importance. The maintenance of the 'authenticity' of Daniel defined for me the task of proving that it was composed by the author whose name it bears, at the time, among the people, and under the circumstances assigned in the contents. Within these limits I have confined my remarks. They have been more than sufficient to permit to me the Examination of a Canonical Work by the tests of Inspiration, and by the laws of nature, of language, and of history.

It has been said that error has a thousand forms yet but two characteristic marks, superstition and incredulity. Superstition virtually perished

friendly criticism on Zündel in the *Tübingen Quartalschrift* (erstes Heft. 1864); and Aguado's treatise (Spanish), will furnish to the reader many fresh points of interest. The English student is still waiting with pardonable impatience the appearance of Dr Pusey's Lectures.

in the ashes of Paganism; incredulity alone remains. No longer however as in the days of Bayle and Voltaire, when the passions it engendered found their pretext in the intolerance of opposition. *That* stage has died out; it is too foreign to the modern mind. But it is much to be wished that the stage of abuse which has replaced and succeeded it should also perish. I have had occasion to allude to this habit once or twice in the course of this Essay. If experience proves that the Bible can be discussed reverently and philosophically in the same breath, there should be but scanty exception to so good a rule. Reason would then be found at least respecting where it did not always justify the veneration paid by religious feeling to the Sacred Volume.

My respectful thanks are due to the University authorities for permitting me to expand certain Sections of the original MS.

If in discussing the subject of deification of kings and hero-worship, I have availed myself of Prof. Chwolsohn's researches, it has been in deference to the favourable opinion entertained of them far more generally in Germany than in England. It should be better known that the enormous expense of the publication of the originals alone retards what Prof. Chwolsohn believes to be a complete answer to

M. Renan's scholarly and good-humoured criticism. My argument does not however depend upon the acceptance or non-acceptance of his views. They will be seen to be simply quoted in illustration of a practice co-existent everywhere in the East with the recognition of idolatry, and certainly therefore in Babylonia.

I owe many acknowledgments to Messrs Boyle and Walter for affording me a perusal of their Books on our common subject.

A first attempt at Biblical criticism will perhaps be received with some little indulgence. I have carefully remedied errors, and named my authorities, perhaps too fully. Yet in spite of every precaution, I am quite aware that mistakes may have escaped my notice. But at least I trust that I shall not be found to have erred on the score of *tone*. Friend and foe in the very polemical literature of the Book of Daniel urge it, by pure contrast, upon a Christian Priest to remember and imitate the noble maxim of S. Augustine: 'in necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus caritas.'

J. M. FULLER.

July, 1864.

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INTRODUCTION.

'It is,' says Bunsen[1], 'one of the highest triumphs, of modern criticism, to have proved that the Book of Daniel is a production of the age of Antiochus Epiphanes.' But the ingenuity, as some call it, or the scholarship as its supporters would have it termed, which has led to this result can hardly be considered a discovery peculiar to modern criticism. The opinion is not entirely modern; its revival can alone claim that designation. For centuries this very opinion has been lying in abeyance, possibly through the indifference or the inability of an unscholastic age to discuss it. But there it has been, till within the last few years it has been resuscitated, advocated and pleaded with an earnestness and a diligence worthy of a better cause.

The few following historical facts may prove interesting, and serve as an introduction to the whole subject.

For a long time the heathen writer Porphyry (A.D. 233—302) was considered the father of the objectors to the authenticity of the book. But in 1859 Ewald[2] announced

[1] *Gott in der Geschichte*, p. 302, Vol. I. Leipz. 1857.

[2] *Göttingen Gel. Anz.* 1859, pp. 270, 271, in a review of P. A. de Lagarde's edition of *Hippolytus*.—Davidson (*Introd. to O. T.* III. 200, 1863) repeats Ewald's statement.

that long before Porphyry, so good a Bishop of Rome as Hippolytus (circ. 200 A.D.) had put forth similar views. It was a most unhappy announcement on the part of the great German critic, as any one may discover who will take the trouble to refer to the work reviewed by Ewald. Not only is Hippolytus a supporter of the 'traditional' view of the 'four kingdoms;' not only is there more disagreement than agreement between his and modern views on those very points where the resemblance is said to be the strongest; but also when speaking of Daniel himself, Hippolytus describes him as that 'blessed prophet, who recorded what was revealed to him in visions by the Spirit, that to those who would search the holy Scriptures he should be proved a prophet[1];' a description which would have met with very little favour from Porphyry. Most of the critics of Ewald's school allow to the Bishop 'a few luminous thoughts[2];' but the peculiar luminosity of these newly translated writings sheds no favourable light upon their opinions. To the heathen critic must be restored again the distinction he has hitherto enjoyed[3].

Porphyry was a man of considerable talents and eloquence, and the author of a voluminous work against the Christians[4]. In the twelfth book of this work he made it his object to refute the claims of 'Daniel' to the rank of prophecy[5]. He asserted that the Book of Daniel was not composed by him whose name was attached to it, but by some writer who lived in Judæa

[1] Lagarde, *Op. cit.* p. 176. Hippolytus' remark is in a comment upon Dan. vii. I shall take the opportunity of giving the opinions of Hippolytus in their proper places.

[2] Bunsen, *Hippolytus and his Age*, I. 453. Lond. 1854.

[3] Lardner, *Credibility*, &c. (8vo Edit. Lond. 1837), Vol. VII. ch. xxxvii. 390 seq. Westcott (Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, Article 'Daniel') gives the date circ. A.D. 305.

[4] κατὰ Χριστιανῶν λόγους ιε'. Suidas (Lardner, p. 394).

[5] Lardner, 399. The passage is to be found in S. Jerome's preface to his *Commentary upon Daniel* (*e.g.* Vol. V. p. 491, Ed. Migne).

in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes. He urged that it did not speak of things future so much as narrate the events of the past. In fact, that whatever event it recorded up to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes was to be considered true history, but all beyond that date must be counted false, as the writer was necessarily unacquainted with futurity. Therefore, concluded Porphyry, the book was written in the age of that king. This objection, founded upon a disbelief in prophecy, was natural in a heathen writer; but it is somewhat surprising and very painful to find it made the groundwork of the enlightened criticism of our own day. 'The argument of Porphyry[1],' says Mr Westcott, 'is an exact anticipation of the position of many modern critics. It involves this two-fold assumption: first, that the whole book ought to contain predictions of the same character; and secondly, that definite predictions are impossible. Externally, the book is as well attested as any book of Scripture; and there is nothing to show that Porphyry urged any historical objections against it; but it brings the belief in miracle and prediction, in the divine power and foreknowledge, as active among men, to a startling test; and according to the character of the belief in the individual must be his judgment upon the book.' Porphyry was answered by Eusebius of Cæsarea, Apollinarius[2], Methodius and Jerome. To this last-named commentator is due the preservation of the views of the heathen critic[3]. In his Commentary upon Daniel this early father of the Church collected the most forcible of Porphyry's objections; either appending to each a direct or indirect refutation, or pointing out the

[1] Smith's *Dict. of the Bible,* Art. cit.

[2] In Lagarde, *Hippolyt.* p. 171.—The names of Hippolyt. Apollin. Euseb. of Cæsar. are united as holding one and the same opinion upon the dream of Nebuchadnezzar.

[3] Porphyry's objections and criticisms, as also S. Jerome's answers and remarks, are briefly given by Lardner (*Credib.* pp. 402 seq.).

path to a more sound mode of interpretation. Porphyry, as far as is known, found no followers in Christian antiquity. The Dutchman Spinoza, and the Englishman Hobbes, are usually represented to be the first who revived somewhat similar objections. Spinoza[1] maintained the theory that the Books of Daniel, Ezra, Esther, and Nehemiah, were all written by one and the same writer, though he confessed himself unable to say who that writer might be. His reason for including Daniel in this list was briefly this[2]. He allowed that chapters viii—xii. were undoubtedly written by Daniel, but he questioned the authenticity of chapters i—vii. Owing to their Chaldee element he believed them, with the exception of chapter i. to have formed a portion of the Chaldee annals, and that from these annals the unknown writer drew the materials for the composition of his own work. It will be seen that Spinoza's objection affects the unity, but does not touch the credibility of the Book of Daniel; he guards himself, in fact, from any such supposition, by immediately adding that those very chapters (i—vii.) were considered of 'equal sanctity with the rest of the Bible.'

This however, and that of Hobbes[3], which was of a purely general character, were but slight and passing suspicions. They are chiefly of value now as pointing out the line adverse criticism was preparing to follow. The Spaniard Acosta[4] next asserted that the book was composed to propagate the doctrine of the Pharisees respecting the resurrection of the dead. Collins[5], in his

[1] *Tractat. Theolog. Polit.* ch. x. p. 210. English Ed. 1862.

[2] *Id.* p. 209.

[3] *Leviathan*, ch. xxxiii., quoted by Hengstenberg, *The Genuineness of Daniel*, transl. by Pratten, p. 4 (Clark, Edinb. 1848).

[4] Bertholdt, *Einleit. in d. A. T.* p. 1508 (Erlangen, 1812).

[5] The views of Collins and his school, as also the answers to those views, may be very fairly estimated from (1) *A Vindication of the Antiquity and Authority of Daniel's Prophecies*, by Samuel Chandler, Lond. 1728. (2) A pamphlet entitled *The Objections of a late anonymous writer* (Collins) *considered*. Cambr. 1728.

turn, heaped up objection upon objection, evidently with the intention of wresting from the hands of the defenders of the Old Testament prophecy one of their most valuable documents. The German Semler[1] followed him in rejecting the inspiration of the book, contenting himself with the self-satisfied opinion, that the benefit likely to result from such a work as the book of Daniel was not of that kind which God intends to confer upon man when He makes use of means of a very extraordinary character. Michaelis is generally allowed to be the first who opposed the book upon scholar-like grounds; but even his objections were perfectly compatible with the fullest recognition of its canonicity. In his opinion, the variations between the Hebrew and Greek texts of chapters iii—vi. suggested the belief that that portion was an interpolation. Eichhorn followed him, at first timidly (*Einleitung*, 1st and 2nd Edd.), rejecting only the first six chapters. But when at length (1783) Corrodi, a learned Swiss and the precursor of the more modern views, revived the opinions of Porphyry and rejected the whole book, Eichhorn joined him, and boldly gave up his previous reserve. From this time the course of the impugners of the book was clear. Bertholdt in 1803 gave a critical basis and spirit to the opinions of his party; and though later critics of the same school have refuted many of the objections of their predecessors, only to see their own demolished by their successors[2], yet all have agreed to revert, with Bertholdt, to Porphyry, for the foundation-stones of the structure of opposition.

Prophecy and miracles, singly or unitedly, have formed

[1] Hengstenberg, p. 5. Something very like this is to be found in Davidson's latest work (*Introd. to O. T.* 1863, III. 174): 'The miracles recorded in the book (of Daniel) are lavishly accumulated without any apparent object, and differ from those elsewhere related. Their prodigal expenditure is unworthy of the Deity.'

[2] *e. g.* Hitzig's by Ewald (*Jahrb. J. Bibl. Wissenschaft.* III. p. 233), and Ewald's by Bleek (*Einl. in d. A. T.* 1860, p. 610).

the main reasons for rejecting the Book of Daniel from the 'authentic' lists of Gesenius, Rosenmüller, Kirms, De Wette, Ewald, von Lengerke, Hitzig, Bunsen, and, greatest of all, Bleek ('the indefatigable'). Philological arguments, supposed historical inaccuracies, *argumenta e silentio*, have of course had special weight with some more than with others; but they have formed the substance of secondary or additional, rather than of primary objections to the authenticity of the book. The existence of 'too accurate predictions,' of 'irrational and impossible miracles,' has, in the opinion of modern criticism, stamped the book as the production of an impostor of the time of Antiochus Epiphanes[1].

For instance: The *Prophecies* of Daniel, cry some, are so clear with reference to this king and so manifestly end with him, that they must have been written either during or shortly after his time. In a word, they are *vaticinia post eventum*. This bold assumption naturally led its supporters to doubt the historical existence of the prophet Daniel; while to others, the only satisfactory mode of explaining all the recognised phenomena, seemed to be to separate the prophet from the writer, and place them in different periods of Jewish history. Thus, von Lengerke and Hitzig suppose Daniel to have been a celebrated hero who lived in a mythical age: Ewald[2] and Bunsen[3] consider him to have been a real sentient being, but place him not at Babylon but at Nineveh, about 22 years before Sargina (the Sargon of Scripture and father of Sennacherib) overturned the ancient dynasty of Assyria. They agree only in distinguishing him from the writer of the present book whom they place in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes. And Englishmen are now told that it is time for their divines

[1] Davidson, *Introd.* III. 172–4.

[2] *Die Propheten d. Alten Bundes*, 1840, Vol. II. p. 560.

[3] *Gott in d. Geschichte*, I. 514.

to recognise these views[1]. 'The current error'—that is, the attributing to the prophet Daniel the work which bears his name—'is declared to be as discreditable to them with their opportunities of study as it is a matter of grave compassion for that well-meaning crowd who are taught to identify it with their creed.' Distinguish the man Daniel from the Book of Daniel; bring the latter as low as the reign of Epiphanes, and you only follow the admitted necessities of the case. But the exhortation or the advice will necessarily fall upon deaf ears till there be something like unity in the counsels of the advisers. When reasoning men see advocates of this or that hypothesis say their say, and then disappear, extinguished by the last opinions of the last critic, it makes them think whether after all the 'current error' may not contain a much deeper aspect of the truth than that presented by the latest current novelty. The 'error' comes before them backed by the opinion of centuries, and upheld, however modified, by some of the most advanced minds of their own day. Shall they reject it to follow an *ipse dixit* of to-day which may undergo complete alteration to-morrow? I pass by the manner in which many instructors teach these new opinions. Too often a sneer or a charge of ignorance takes the place of a proof; and a defiant tone is supposed to supersede the necessity of argument. There is one writer who—be it always recorded to his honour—has carefully avoided this self-condemning mistake; and he is one of the greatest biblical scholars Germany has produced for many years. Of Bleek it has been said by one[2] who naturally is no friend to his views, that while he handles all the questions upon the Old Testament with the utmost freedom, while further he decides in many cases against the old opinions,

[1] *Essays and Reviews.* Williams' 'Essay on Bunsen's Biblical Researches,' pp. 76, 77.

[2] *Replies to Essays and Reviews.* Essay, by H. J. Rose, p. 75.

yet in tone he is altogether different from the critical school of Gesenius and his followers. The admissions of Bleek are such as would have been treated with scorn in the palmy days of rationalism. He invariably speaks with reverence of the prophets as the recipients of the revelations of God and interpreters between God and man. When he controverts the opinions of Hengstenberg and other writers of that school, he does it with courtesy and with evident respect for names, which, when only mentioned, suffice with other writers to call forth a storm of abuse. It is from this writer that I shall draw the chief arguments used by the impugners of the authenticity of the book.

The *miracles* of Daniel, cry others, are perfectly aimless in their profusion: their character is so evidently fabulous that they cannot be true. The history of Daniel, says Knobel[1], has a legendary, almost a fairy-tale complexion; it represents events in a manner in which they could not possibly have happened. They can only have assumed their present form after a long oral transmission. In Hebrew history, where numerous myths and legends occur—as that of the patriarchs, of Moses, Balaam, Samson, Elijah, Elisha, &c.—the narratives were committed to writing long after the events themselves. But where events have a natural appearance, as those recorded in the Books of Ezra, Nehemiah, 1 Maccabees, we may conclude that they were generally committed to writing at the time or very soon after their occurrence. This, we are told, is a historic canon of whose validity there can be no doubt; but it is one of which, I am bold enough to believe, most historians would entertain considerable doubt. It is, on the face of it, formed to suit a preconceived opinion; admitting everything or nothing in accordance with the caprice of its proposer, and certainly resting on no sound

[1] *Prophetismus*, II. 401. It may be new to some readers to learn what are considered the myths of the Old Testament.

principles. But it need be no longer surprising that to writers of this class the Book of Daniel and the Gospels should be equally unauthentic. To deny the former on account of its miraculous element is but a step towards that scientific criticism which rejects the narratives recording the miracles of Jesus Christ.

The impugners of the authenticity of the Book of Daniel may be divided into two main classes[1]; those who respectively urge their arguments against the prophecies, miracles, historical and philological peculiarities, on subjective and objective grounds. Both classes, as has been before observed, unite in fixing the date of its composition in the age of Antiochus Epiphanes. Hitzig[2] placed it between the years 170 B. C. and the spring of 164 B. C., and this latter date Lücke has ventured to pronounce a certain result of historical criticism. Naturally, this date, if it could be substantiated, would decide the controversy, for it repudiates the substantial composition of the Book during the time of the captivity. To this point then the attention must throughout be directed. But before proceeding to discuss it, I would state briefly the views held by Bleek and his school, and then allude to those who have maintained the authenticity of that traditional view founded upon the statement of our Lord Himself (S. Matt. xxiv. 15). The question between us and our opponents, says Bleek[3], is this: whether the Book of Daniel was written by that Daniel who, according to the book itself, lived during the whole period of the

[1] Hengstenberg, p. 7.

[2] Westcott, Art. cit. Davidson, *Introd.* III. 200, places the date in 168 or at most in 167, so that Lücke is wrong after all.

[3] Bleek's views were first put forward in the *Theol. Zeitschrift von Schleiermacher*, De Wette and Lücke, III. 171 seq. 1822. They are repeated with but little important alteration in the posthumous edition of the *Einleitung (in das A. T.* 1860, p. 577–611. ed. J. F. Bleek and Kamphausen), and in the *Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie*, 1860, p. 47 seq. The passage in the text is in substance from the *Einleitung*, pp. 585, 586.

Babylonian exile till the third year of Cyrus at least; or by some Jewish scribe (of the time of the Syrian king, Antiochus Epiphanes) who assumed the name of Daniel as a *nom de plume*, and lived some three centuries and a half after the prophet. The historical sections of chapters i—vi. would seem to make no express affirmation that they were written by Daniel. The narrative is throughout carried on in the third person both as regards Daniel himself and his three companions. But in the commencement of the second main division of the book it is expressly affirmed (vii. 1) that Daniel himself is the writer; and in the visions the first person is uniformly employed, signifying that Daniel is the narrator. Consequently it appears that at least this part, and therefore also from the recognised connection of the two parts, that the whole book expressly requires its recognition as his work. 'If therefore we place the date of this in a later age than that traditionally assigned to it, we must assume that the book presents itself to us under conditions similar to those presented by the Book of Deuteronomy, the Blessing of Jacob, or Ecclesiastes; viz. with the title of Daniel employed by the writer and reporter of the visions as a literary device to forward the didactic or hortatory lessons he had in view. Internal and external considerations of—in my opinion—great weight have led me to give my assent to this assumption.' These grounds it will be the object of this Essay to discuss.

Against the successive stages of this critical depreciation of the book there has always ensued a strong critical reaction. The theologians of the Early Church contested the opinions advanced in their day, and their example has been steadily repeated from time to time. Within the last thirty years England and Germany have sent forth their sons to dispute with and, in my humble opinion, to refute the modern revivalists of sceptical

opinions[1]. It is not denied that the nature of the defence has greatly altered since the days of Jerome. With the immense progress observable in every branch of study, it would have been extraordinary had this not been the case. But out of the common stock of information thus newly acquired, the advocates and the opponents of 'Daniel's' authenticity have usually deduced very opposite conclusions. Perhaps there is reason to rejoice even in this result, for from the modern contest true criticism has always derived some permanent gain. The nature of prophecy, the subject of miracles, the issue of historical researches and of philological enquiries, have been more elaborately analysed, more profusely illustrated, and more accurately determined. And where they have been fairly used, they have invariably tended to advance and support the authenticity of the book. That the Book of Daniel contains difficulties no true critic would ever deny: but these difficulties are not to be solved by ingenious and ephemeral explanations, any more than by false and imperfect views. If a theory or an interpretation, whether traditional or that of yesterday, is found to be either simply conjectural or untenable upon sound and healthy principles of criticism, then it should be resigned without hesitation. To retain it is only to hamper further research; it is to imitate, in an opposite direction, that practice of modern scepticism which will hold fast the creations only of its own brain. A liberal and manly criticism is never afraid to confess that there are many points in this book which it has not solved and cannot yet solve. But the confession is not one of weakness, it is rather the evidence of conscious strength. Every step in the elucidation of this subject has been hitherto gained after a patient

[1] It may be sufficient to mention in a note the well-known names of Hengstenberg, Hävernick, Auberlen, Zündel, Delitzsch, in Germany; and in England, Davidson (Horne's *Introd. to O. T.*), Westcott, Hooper, Rawlinson, &c.

sifting of the views of antiquity, and the sober results of modern investigation. To depart from that cautious attitude would be to imperil the correctness of the results already attained; it would be to admit that spirit of conjecture which ends by disbelieving everything beyond the range of its limited vision, or cuts the knot of the difficulty it cannot unloose.

CHAPTER I.

DANIEL AND THE CAPTIVITY.

THE fundamental fact of the time, the Captivity itself, is allowed to admit of no reasonable doubt. The Assyrian monuments and the later history of the Persian empire sufficiently testify to the practice of transferring captive populations; and the particular instance of the transportation of the Jews to Babylon is expressly attested by the heathen historian Berosus[1]. Yet this period would be almost a blank in the history of the Hebrew nation, did we not possess in the writing of Daniel a personal narrative of events which then took place. Evidently therefore, if the Book of Daniel be authentic, it takes its place as a record of the highest historical value. It comes before us as the writing of a man who claims to be a witness, a contemporary of the facts he narrates.

The introductory chapter of the Book of Daniel opens with a statement of the beginning of the captivity (i. 1), and closes with a record of its termination (i. 21; vide ix. 1, 2). The period of the Exile is thus the basis of the prophet's predictions. Daniel, a youth of considerable

[1] Rawlinson's *Bampton Lectures*, 1859, Lect. IV. (and note 86), V. (and notes 12–14), (1st edit.) pp. 154, 160. On Berosus vid. note at the end of Ch. VI.

talent and of great personal beauty, was taken captive to Babylon in the third year of Jehoiakim, king of Judah (B.C. 604)[1]. There he was trained in the royal palace for the king's service. Later inroads on the part of Nebuchadnezzar led to the captivity of king Jehoiachin, the successor of Jehoiakim, and the prophet Ezekiel (B.C. 598). And in B.C. 588 ensued the destruction of Jerusalem, the abolition of the kingdom of Judah, and the transfer of its king (Zedekiah) to Babylon, blinded, and in fetters (Jer. xxxix. 7).

With the Babylonian captivity began a new stage in the history of God's chosen people. It was a stage marked by great and heavy reverses. The captive Israelites had, it is true, the comfortable words of Jeremiah (ch. xlv—lxvi.) to encourage them in their trials. Ezekiel also was labouring among those carried away from home and country to the banks of Chebar. But it pleased the God of Israel to give yet further comfort. The Jews were destined to pass through periods of the deepest affliction, and for these they must be forewarned and forearmed, lest anger and distrust should create disobedience and apostasy. He, who was chosen to see the visions of those numerous and heavy griefs still hidden in the future; he, who heard also the accompanying words of priceless comfort, was Daniel the captive, henceforth the Prophet. From early youth to extreme old age he lived at the Babylonian and Medo-Persian court (i. 1, vi. 21, x. 1). Like Joseph[2], he gained the favour of his guardians by his force of character, even while he resolutely avoided the 'defilement of the king's meat' (i. 8), in his determination to preserve his purity as a Jew. At the end of three

[1] Westcott, Art. cit. This disputed date will be considered p. 102 seq. Davidson (*Introd.* 1863), III. 183, agrees with the date named.

[2] The comparison between Joseph and Daniel is in many points an interesting one. It has been well drawn out by Auberlen, *Der Prophet Daniel* 2te Aufl. Biel. 1857, p. 32 seq. As early as Hippolytus it was noticed and exhibited (*e.g.* pp. 170, 173, ed. Lagarde).

years Daniel had an opportunity of exercising his peculiar power as an interpreter of dreams (i. 17, ii. 14 seq.); and, in consequence of his success, he was made ruler of the whole province of Babylon, and chief of the governors over all the 'wise men' (ii. 48). Consecutive instances of this power led to his appointment at different times to positions of high official responsibility (iv. 8—27, v. 10—28, vi. 10—23).

While thus occupied he gained a valuable knowledge of the political organization of the kingdoms of the world; and this, without losing his deep perception of their perishableness. The humiliation of Nebuchadnezzar, the fall of Belshazzar, the rapid decay and extinction of the Babylonian monarchy, kept alive in him the higher and more spiritual impression, that the powers of this world were but transitory, the power of that God who had delivered him and his companions (iii—vi.) alone eternal. Daniel, again like Joseph, became the representative of the true God in the courts of heathen kings; and for the work assigned to him in that capacity he was eminently fitted by his talents, education and position. Though, like Jeremiah and Ezekiel, an exile and a sojourner in a strange land, yet his worldly position as an officer of high consideration under successive dynasties gave to him an influence those prophets never attained. This, while it never lost to him the hearts of his fellow-countrymen, procured for him and them a certain respect and deference from their pagan conquerors[1]. And his intellectual superiority confirmed to both Jews and Babylonians the impression derived from his civil dignity. Trained in the secrets of the Casdim, and president of the wise men of Babylon, Daniel demanded and received from the heathen, by virtue of his character, that reverence always granted by superstition to the supposed favourites of the

[1] Comp. *Hippolytus*, p. 169.

gods. To his own people he must have appeared as a being moulded after the type of their great and revered Lawgiver, who, in his day, had been so sedulously 'trained in all the wisdom of the Egyptians.' If Daniel's contact with polytheistic profanities raised a momentary suspicion of possibly lax and degenerate views, it was immediately silenced by those instances furnished in early and late life (i. 8—16, vi. 10—1) of the deepest possible attachment to the moral and ceremonial code. And thus it was, that at the close of the exile Daniel was permitted to offer to the returning Jews, for the instruction of the Dispersion in after times, that pattern of holiness, his own life, which they, his contemporaries, had been privileged to witness[1]. These considerations are of material value in the elucidation of many points. For it is impossible for any intelligent reader to study the Book of Daniel, and not notice that there are many peculiarities which separate it from the other prophetic writings. Its apocalyptic character, its symbolic imagery, the cast of its predictions, are marked and singular features of distinction[2]. The eye and not the ear is the prophetic organ of Daniel, visions and not words are revealed to him. The will of God is declared to him by the ministry of angels (vii. 16, viii. 16, ix. 21), and not by the 'Word of the LORD.' The revelation vouchsafed to him is of the highest class, and yet it is almost unprecedented in character. The Jewish nation is seen by him expanded into the world; the restored kingdom of the chosen people knows now no other limits than the universal kingdom of God. So altered, so peculiar, is the prophetic portion of the Book of Daniel, that it seems to demand some peculiar, some altered state

[1] Westcott, Art. cit. It is well known that after the return from exile the Jews never again gave way to the seductions of idolatry; v. Herzfeld, *Geschichte d. Volkes Israel*, I. 205 (1847). Nicolas, *Des Doctrines religieuses des Juifs*, 1860, p. 9.

[2] Id. The polemical bearing of these points will be noticed under the Chapter on 'Prophecies.'

of circumstances to explain what can be explained; and such circumstances are supplied by the history of the Babylonian captivity. If search be made for one who could combine both an outward training suited to the recipient of so novel and holy a revelation, and an inward humility capable of receiving with thankfulness what yet was hidden from his understanding (xii. 8),—Daniel, as represented in Scripture, meets in every respect the requirements of the case. His private character, his religious feelings, his hopes of a restoration, all combined to prepare his mind for the reception of God's message. And his official position, the scenes amongst which he lived, rendered no longer strange that peculiar form of revelation communicated to him. A resident in Babylonian courts, an adept in the mysterious wisdom of Casdim and Magi, he was prepared for visions of symbolic import,—visions dealing with things animate and inanimate of colossal proportions and monstrous forms. For such as these surrounded him and his countrymen. Nebuchadnezzar's enormous image (iii. 1 sq.) created no surprise either to his princes or to his people; winged and human-headed bulls, visible still in existing monuments, were familiar objects to every native of Babylonia; and they were probably but one among many forms of grotesque combinations of human and bestial figures. These external features naturally impressed themselves upon the mind of any reflecting Jew resident among them; and it can be easily understood that that impression would betray itself in many ways. In the case of Daniel they serve to explain those peculiarities which, in point of symbolism, distinguish his writing from that of the other prophets. Revealed to us as they are in the book of a man such as Scripture describes Daniel to have been, these very peculiarities are psychological attestations to its authenticity. By Daniel 'the invisible things of his God were clearly seen, being understood by the things

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that were made' (Rom. i. 20). God vouchsafed to open His mouth in a parable drawn from the scenes with which His servant was familiar. The incongruous forms of Babylonian sculpture became the vehicles of the highest and most prophetic truths. This clue to the peculiar form of the book gives a very valuable result. The undesigned coincidences between the external features of the age and locality, and their typical reproduction in the pages of the writer, form an aggregate mass of evidence in favour of its composition by a Prophet such as Daniel assumes to be. No impostor could have devised the incidental touches, the delicate shades of local colouring which indicate the hand of one bred and resident at Babylon and Susa. And with the further clue these same pages furnish as to the mental and spiritual endowments of their author, it is in one sense an undesigned, in another a necessary, coincidence that the prophet Ezekiel celebrates in Daniel such special attributes of 'wisdom' (Ezek. xxviii. 3, חכם, comp. Dan. i. 17, חכמה), and 'righteousness' (Ezek. xiv. 14, 20). For these are the special qualities of the Daniel of Scripture which fitted him on the one hand for his prominent position over the 'wise men' (חכמים), and enabled him on the other to propose himself to his downcast countrymen as a pattern of 'righteousness' (i. 8; vi. 11).

It must not, however, be concealed that Ezekiel's allusions to Daniel have been very differently understood by those who consider it impossible that the two prophets could have been contemporaries. I believe that a fair and dispassionate examination of the whole subject can only lead to the recognition of such contemporaneousness; but as the question is an interesting and important one, I would examine it here once for all.—In the above chapters of Ezekiel (xiv, xxviii.) there are found certain laudatory passages of a Daniel. In the former he is coupled with Noah and Job; in the latter, allusion is made to his wisdom. Who is this Daniel? According to Hitzig, he is

a mythical personage, whose prototype is to be sought in Melchizedek; he is a fictitious character, borrowed by the author of the book of Daniel as suited to his design[1]. According to Ewald, he is a well-known personage of antiquity. According to Bleek, he is either a purely poetical character, or a contemporary of Ezra. And what are the grounds for these guesses, for they are nothing more? That for the first is, that the Daniel of our book was too young to be thus praised by Ezekiel: that for the second, that his position with the patriarchs Noah and Job points him out as no contemporary of Ezekiel: that for the third, that the name occurs in a list in the book of Ezra (viii. 1, 2). Now as regards the first, Bleek and von Lengerke both allow that Daniel, supposing him to have been such as Scripture represents him to be, was quite thirty years of age when those passages in Ezekiel were written, and Westcott thinks that he may have been nearly forty. Assuming the Scripture accounts to be genuine, the events which laid the foundation of Daniel's fame took place in the second year of Nebuchadnezzar's sole reign (ii. 1), that is, about ten years before Ezekiel began to prophesy. And if Daniel really distinguished himself in the manner narrated (ii. 25 seq.), he would speedily become celebrated; his 'wisdom' might with justice be recalled to the mind of the 'Prince of Tyre' (Ezek. xxviii. 2, 3); his 'righteousness' (Ezek. xiv.) to the captives of Chebar. A lesson, in fact, was intended and conveyed by this selection of attributes. The name of Daniel would remind the 'Prince of Tyre,' so proud of his own wisdom and of that of his nation (Ezek. xxviii. 2, comp. xxvii. 8, Zech. ix. 2), of one who was 'wise' and learned in mysteries which he and his people would respect; while the 'elders of Israel' (Ezek. xiv. 1) would

[1] Hitzig's further opinion that the book itself was written in Egypt, and by the high priest Onias IV. may be called, as Bleek has called it, 'ganz unberechtigt' (*Einl.* 610).

be taught to reverence the name of a contemporary, as that of an Israelite remarkable for 'righteousness' in the midst of heathendom. But it is upon this second passage of Ezek. (xiv.) that more stress is laid: and an examination of it will, I think, account for Daniel's position near Noah and Job, without involving the necessity of adopting the alternative proposed by Ewald. Ezekiel, if plain words have a plain meaning, most decidedly meant by 'Noah, Daniel and Job,' the three great men who bore those names. If one, as Daniel, was a fictitious hero, it is difficult to understand why Noah and Job were not equally so[1]. Ewald's view is much more sound and much more critical when he makes his Daniel a real historical being. But Theodoret[2] long ago pointed out that there is no necessity to transfer the age of Daniel to some remote antiquity. 'The striking correspondence in the events of their times was Ezekiel's reason for uniting those three names, Noah, Daniel and Job.' A very few observations will make this correspondence apparent. It may be affirmed that it was certainly not without intention that Ezekiel selected the names of the patriarchs Noah and Job. Abraham, Jacob, Moses, Samuel, David, were all men remarkable in their day for the very virtue of 'righteousness' attributed to these instances: they were, moreover, household names, co-eval with the most glorious periods in the annals of Jewish history. But yet they are passed over by the Prophet. He prefers, in illustration of his point, that patriarch whose name was connected with one of the saddest chapters of the history of the human race, and another whose name was eminently suggestive of deeds of patience and not of heroism. What was Ezekiel's intention in this selec-

[1] I need hardly add that this conclusion has been accepted and defended. Comp. Zündel, *Krit. Untersuchungen über die Abfassungszeit d. Buches Daniel*, 1861, pp. 259, 268.

[2] Quoted in Hengstenberg, *Genuineness*, &c. pp. 60—2. *Opera*, II. 768. S. Jerome, Rosenmüller, Auberlen, and Zündel, adopt similar explanations.

tion? Whether he meant anything by the *order* of the names may be left an open question. Delitzsch[1] and Westcott[2] believe that order to represent the first and last historic types of righteousness, before the Law and under it, combined with the ideal type. But this does not meet all the requirements of the case. All that can be decisively affirmed is that the order is not intended to be chronological. Now the contrast instituted by Ezekiel (xiv. 12–21) is between the punishment of the wicked and the salvation of the righteous. 'The sword, the famine, the noisome beast and the pestilence' were coming upon Jerusalem, and upon that 'land which trespassed grievously,' 'to cut off from it man and beast.' So just was this punishment, so crying the sins which deserved it, that the Prophet emphatically declares that were Noah, Daniel and Job present to witness the coming destruction, they should save their own souls only, and that in consequence of their righteousness. Noah had once before done this, when the deluge had 'cut off' all, save the 'preacher of righteousness' and his family. But were he to be alive in the days of this coming visitation, he 'should deliver neither sons nor daughters;' 'the righteousness of the righteous should be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked should be upon him' (Ezek. xviii. 20). Similarly Daniel, that man whose 'righteousness' had made him 'greatly beloved' (ix. 23); whose effectual fervent prayer had procured favour for himself and his companions from heathen hands (i. 16; ii. 49; iii. 30); whose rank probably enabled him to modify, in the case of his countrymen, the usual oriental barbarity towards captives[3];—were he to live again, and witness the future trial, yet should he 'deliver his own soul only' by his

[1] Herzog, *Real-Encyclop.* Art. 'Daniel.'

[2] Westcott, *Art. cit.*

[3] Comp. Zündel's expression, *Op. cit.* p. 263, Daniel was 'wie ein Schutz-Engel seines Volkes vor dem Throne des Weltherrschers Nebucadnessar.'

'righteousness.' So also Job, that 'perfect and upright man, who 'feared God and eschewed evil' (i. 1, 8); who, in the bitter hour of his grief, 'spake of his God the thing that was right' (xlii. 7); whose prayer for his friends was accepted and their pardon assured (xlii. 8—10)—were he to live again in that period of future desolation, even 'righteousness' and prayer such as his would deliver none but himself, the hour for intercession for others would have passed and gone by for ever. To those 'elders of Israel' (Ezek. xiv. 1) who listened to the words of their prophet, the name of Daniel thus became suggestive of the most quickening thoughts. The 'faith' of Noah they knew. The 'patience' of Job they knew. But here was a contemporary proposed to them; a man who, if the order meant anything, united in himself that faith which was the groundwork of righteousness, and that patience which would make it perfect. It cannot be too strongly insisted, that if 'Noah, Daniel and Job,' was worth anything as an illustration to the men to whom it was offered, and at the time when Scripture declares it to have been offered, then it must have referred to real sentient beings; types high, though human, of the true children of God. Carry back Daniel to a remote antiquity, and the illustration is reft of half its force to the languishing captives at Chebar. Degrade him to the position of a hero in some current romance, and the Prophet Ezekiel becomes at once guilty of propounding as actually true what every one in his day must have known was pure fiction. It is strange that Bleek[1], seeing clearly the force of the above alternative, can yet support for one moment that really difficult hypothesis that the Daniel of our book was a fictitious personage. He allows that the 'Daniel' of Ezekiel was a man of like remarkable virtue and wisdom with the 'Daniel' of Daniel: but there he stops. He has a theory

[1] *Einl.* p. 608 seq.

to defend which opposes itself to any further concession. It is a sad task at any time to watch a great mind run waste in shifts and conjectures; but it has also its instructive side; and therefore it is that I would briefly describe Bleek's mode of reaching those conclusions between which he appears to have oscillated. Starting from the very necessary supposition that the author of our book must have lived in the age of Antiochus Epiphanes, this is the way he explains the mention of Daniel by Ezekiel. We are told that we may conjecture with probability that Ezekiel was acquainted with some old writing. This document described Daniel as a man equally remarkable for his attachment to the religion of his fathers and for his profound wisdom, and yet gave no definite information as to the age in which he lived. We are next to suppose that this document was lost during the exile at Babylon or soon after. It was certainly no longer in existence at the time of the compilation of our present book. Hence it happened that the author of our book and his contemporaries had no more certain knowledge about Daniel than what was told them in those passages of Ezekiel. This fact enabled the author to introduce the person of Daniel into his parabolic narrative with very great freedom; and he employed it so as to promote most effectively the hortatory object he had in view. But all this must be felt to be conjecture heaped upon conjecture. The impressions suggested by fancy are gravely set down, and we are required to credit them as historical. Such a system of explanation may be convenient, but it is not critical. It is not therefore surprising that Bleek himself almost resigned this mode of reasoning. He propounded another, and what he considered 'a more possible' method of explanation[1]. We are now to believe that the fact of the career of Daniel being placed in the period of the Babylonian captivity, was due to a confusion between the Daniel named by Ezekiel

[1] Id. p. 609.

and a later Daniel who really was in exile with the Jews. Such an exile we are to recognize among those who went up from Babylon in the reign of Artaxerxes the king (Ezra viii. 1, 2). He was a priest of the family of Ithamar, and the contemporary of Ezra and Nehemiah. We are to notice it moreover as remarkable that contemporaneous with this Daniel were a Misael, a Hananiah, and an Azariah. Misael is one of those who 'stood by the side of Ezra the scribe' (Neh. viii. 4); the two latter were, like Daniel, among the chiefs and priests of the people, having their names recorded upon the 'sealed writing' (Neh. x. 1, 3, 23). This correspondence of names with those in the Book of Daniel (i. 19) may of course be accidental, but Bleek would have us consider it a very remarkable coincidence, especially as Daniel and Misael are not at all common names.

So far, this hypothesis of Bleek's is preferable to his former one, in that it makes Daniel a man of flesh and blood. It is now no imaginary champion of Judaism, no fictitious character that we have to accept, but a real sentient being. Ewald's strong and just opposition to anything like phantom or ideal representatives has had a salutary effect[1]. But this hypothesis is supported by arguments as purely conjectural as was the first. There is a very awkward interval of 160 years between the Daniel of the Captivity (i. 1) and the Daniel contemporary with Ezra (viii. 1). And this interval cannot be fairly accounted for. We are told, indeed, to suppose that the anonymous author took the names of the contemporaries of Ezra, and applied them to the characters in his book, without feeling it necessary to explain why he did so. He expected his readers to

[1] Ewald, *Einleit.* p. 15. 'The invention of a history without foundation in facts—the mere brain-creation of a person represented as having a real historical existence—is a notion so utterly alien to the spirit of antiquity, that its development is a sign of a late epoch in the literature of an ancient people, and its complete form a sure index of modern times.'

understand, that in selecting a 'Daniel' as the representative of piety and wisdom, he chose a name already endued by Ezekiel with those qualities. But supposition is not criticism, conjecture must not take the place of proof. Of late, however, this latter hypothesis of Bleek's has found a supporter in Davidson; and for the very intelligible reason, that it does not resolve the whole book into fiction. The 'production' of the anonymous author is, at any rate, partly historical[1]. 'It has a historical basis, though it is all but impossible to separate it from the fictitious materials interwoven.' This, then, is the latest creed concerning Daniel which modern criticism demands modern intelligence to accept. But, when stripped of its poetry, what does it contain? A 'whole romancer[2],' such as Hitzig and von Lengerke recommend, is not now so palatable as a half-romancer. 'It is hard to believe,' says Davidson, 'that a romance (*i.e.* an entire romance) respecting Daniel could have gained acceptance among the people, or encouraged them to withstand tyranny to the death. Romances do not make martyrs[3].' Quite true: but apparently half-romances will. Give to a fictitious narrative a tinge of history, and men will learn to regard the fiction simply as an embellishment. They will separate it from the history, and become martyrs through their study of that historical element[4]. Such a view may safely be left to the impossibilities which encompass it. There is, in fact, but one explanation of the whole point. The Daniel mentioned by Ezekiel is the Daniel of the age of Nebuchadnezzar and Cyrus. To suppose him any other is to be compelled to adopt expedients and accommodating devices utterly unworthy of real criticism.

[1] *Introd.* III. 202. 1863.

[2] Davidson. 'The writer of the book before us was not wholly a romancer.'

[3] Herzfeld, *Gesch. d. Volkes Israel*, Vol. I. Excurs. ii. § 14, p. 296, 1847, makes this same objection to von Lengerke's view of ch. v.

[4] So Herzfeld, *l. cit.*

*

Daniel's fame and reputation was well known at Babylon, and it was Ezekiel's wish to extend it to his own more immediate charge. He did so by coupling the honoured name with those of the patriarchs whose times of affliction had been similar to his own, and whose 'righteousness' had supported them to the end.

CHAPTER II.

EXTERNAL OBJECTIONS.

The objections made to the authenticity of the Book of Daniel may be conveniently separated into two main divisions: those founded on external and internal grounds respectively. Under the former may be classed the questions concerning canonical position, *argumenta è silentio*, and philological phenomena; under the latter, historical inaccuracies (so called), miracles, and prophecies. Naturally, it will not be supposed that every kind of objection has been entertained and discussed under one or the other of these heads. In the limits of an Essay this would be impossible. All that has been here attempted is a review of those points to which most weight is attached by the disputants upon both sides. It might almost be said that to do more is unnecessary. Objections of a minor character vary every day; the latest commentator destroys those of his predecessor, and replaces them by others destined to suffer a like fate.

A. *Canonical Position.*

The first objection of any weight urged against the Book of Daniel is its canonical position.

It is well known that the Jews divide the Hebrew Bible into three great sections: the Law (Thorah), the

Prophets (Nebi-im)[1], and the Hagiographa (Cetubim). In the LXX. version and in the English Bibles the Book of Daniel is placed after Ezekiel. But in the Hebrew Bible the book, instead of being coupled with prophets and finding a place in the Nebi-im, is placed in the last class, or Cetubim. The question therefore occurs, assuming that the formation of the biblical Canon was not completed at once, but that the Thorah, the Nebi-im, and the Cetubim represent three epochs in its development, is there any reason why the Book of Daniel occupies the place it does in the Hebrew Canon? Why is it found in the third, and not in the second division? From Eichhorn to Bleek[2], the objectors to its authenticity have urged that it admits of no explanation but this, that it was unknown when the collection of the Nebi-im was made. If that collection was made, as seems probable, by Nehemiah, the absence of Daniel from the Nebi-im is said to prove that the book was unknown to him at least a hundred years after the date assigned to Daniel in the Scripture accounts. It did not come to light till the Maccabean period, by which time the second division of the canon was closed.

The whole question is confessedly a difficult one, resting for its solution upon some of the most disputed points of biblical criticism. It involves an accurate determination of (1) the time of the closing of the Old Testament Canon; (2) the nature of the third division of that Canon; (3) the position of Daniel in that division: and upon these points it is next to impossible, at this distance of time, to decide either accurately or decisively. There are, however, indications in biblical and post-biblical writings sufficient to assist in forming approximate and sound opinions

[1] In speaking of the divisions of the Canon, the word Nebi-im will be used in preference to 'Prophets,' in order to avoid confusion.

[2] *Einl.* 587. In the 2nd part of his *Einl.* Bleek calls it the 'last book of the O. T. canon,' p. 672.

upon the first and second of these points; and these once established, the means towards apprehending the third may not seem so distant nor so insignificant.

It is the generally-received opinion that the Canon in its present shape was formed gradually, during the period extending from the times of Ezra and Nehemiah to the end of the Persian domination (B.C. 458—332)[1]. But without doubt many of the writings which constitute the present Canon were known and received long before the exile itself. The 'Book of the Law,' for instance, including probably the Book of Joshua[2], was known to and valued by Josiah (2 Kings xxii. 8); and this with many prophetic and poetical writings would certainly accompany the Jews to Babylon[3]. Zechariah (i. 4, vii. 7, 12) attests the existence of the writings of the 'former prophets,' and the 'books' mentioned by Daniel (ix. 2) point to a collection of prophetic and other writings current in his day[4]. But it was not till after the exile that steps were taken to systematize these fugitive pieces. It was then felt to be desirable that the stamp of canonicity should be impressed upon the writings, historic, prophetic, and poetical, treasured by the Jews on account of their religious and national interest. And this duty was undertaken by Ezra and Nehemiah. With reference to the Thorah there was no difficulty. It was made the foundation-stone of the Canon, and speedily adapted for temple and festival use (Neh. viii—x). But with the other writings the course to be pursued demanded consideration. Malachi was still alive, and, according to an old Jewish tradition, the prophetic gift had not yet ceased[5].

[1] Westcott (Smith's *Bible Dict.*), Art. 'Canon,' p. 252.

[2] Bleek, *Einl.* pp. 332 and 664.

[3] Herzfeld, *Op. cit.* p. 64 (1847); II. 48, 'Die Enstehung eines Kanons d. heiligen Schriften' (1857).

[4] Keil (*Allg. Einl. in das A. T.* 1854), p. 29.

[5] Vitringa, *Observatt. Sacr.* VI. 6. 'Seder Olam Rabba.' Keil, p. 28.

Nehemiah therefore, perhaps contented himself with commencing during his lifetime a library (2 Macc. ii. 13); collecting for that purpose the 'acts (or books) of the kings, the prophets, the Psalms of David, and the letters of the king concerning the holy gifts.' The sense and the authenticity of this passage has been disputed, but the fact itself is generally conceded[1]; and it appears very probable that this collection was begun under the supervision of Ezra, possibly though not solely for religious and festival purposes. The turning-point, however, in the history of the Canon, may perhaps be called the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes (B. C. 168). It acted upon the Canon of the Old as that of Diocletian affected that of the New Testament[2]. The violent proceedings of the Syrian king; his prohibition of the reading of the Law, and the consequent 'pious fraud' of the Jews in selecting sections from the prophets corresponding in tenor and often in language with the forbidden books;—tended more than any other means to attach a sacred and exclusive character to the best accredited Scriptures. From this time the Bible was accepted by them in its whole and distinctive character. The Canon, perhaps already tacitly settled, became definitely closed, in obedience to the necessity felt for some strict code of Scripture suitable for the whole Jewish nation wherever dispersed. It was in accordance with this acknowledged necessity that Judas Maccabæus in his day gathered together once more the writings that had been lost during the war (2 Macc. ii. 14), and restored them to their proper position in the Canonical collections. Perhaps

[1] Bleek, *Einl.* p. 665. Herzfeld, II. 92 (1857), xxii. Excurs. 'über die Entstehung d. Bibl. Kanons.' According to Herzfeld all the Prophets would be included except Daniel, and of the Psalms only ii—l. The alleged Maccabean, or at least late date of many of the Pss. l.—cl., necessitating with him their introduction into the Canon at a later period than the age of Nehemiah. The *ἀναθήματα* he explains as נדבות.

[2] Westcott, *Art. cit.* p. 251.

there is an undesigned attestation to this influence of the Antiochian persecution to be found in the so-called Book of Ecclesiasticus, a book of very great importance as regards the questions now under consideration. It is well known that in the Prologue of the Greek translation of this book the triple division of the Hebrew Scriptures is repeatedly affirmed; and while different critics have taken different views as to the nature of this division, yet most, if not all, are agreed in recognising there the first distinct testimony to the Old Testament Canon as a whole[1].

Without therefore alluding here to other evidences to the fact of the closing of the Canon, I would briefly describe the two opposite conclusions usually deduced as to the date of this writing; for upon that date depends very much the date of the Book of Daniel. This translation of the 'Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach' (or Ecclesiasticus) was made by the grandson of the author in Egypt in the reign of Euergetes. In the prologue to the work he describes as current everywhere 'the Law and the Prophets'—divisions corresponding to the Hebrew Thorah and Nebi-im,—and also writings variously described as *τὰ ἄλλα τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἠκολουθήκοτα*, or as *τὰ ἄλλα πάτρια βίβλια*, but best explained by their last denomination *τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν βιβλίων*. In this last division he included all those books not contained in the two former. When then was this division considered closed? The answer depends on the date of the author, Jesus Sirach[2]. Now there are two chronological points, one in the prologue, the other in the body of the work, which might be of assistance in forming a decision, were they not unfor-

[1] *e.g.* Bleek as well as Westcott; Baxmann as well as Zündel; Dillmann as well as Oehler.

[2] For a monogram upon this subject v. Winer *de utriusque Siracidæ ætate.* Erlang. 1832. Keil, *Einl.* p. 31 sq., gives a brief summary of the whole dispute. Fritzsche, *Exeget. Handb. zu d. Apokryph. d. A. T. fünfte Lieferung. Einl.* XIII. seq. (1860).

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tunately ambiguous. The first is the mention of the king Euergetes; the second is the allusion to 'Simon, the son of Onias, the high-priest' (Ecclesiast. l.), who closes the eulogy upon the benefactors of Israel. Unhappily for biblical criticism there were two Egyptian kings who took the name of Euergetes; and there were two Simons, both high-priests, both sons of Onias. To take these points in order. The first king surnamed Euergetes was Ptolemy III., son and successor of Ptolemy II., Philadelphus (B. C. 247—22); the second was Ptolemy VII., Physkon (B.C. 170—117). Herzfeld[1] and Ewald in supporting the latter have laid great stress upon the shortness of the reign of the former, affirming that, as the translator came into Egypt in the 38th year of Euergetes, it was impossible for him to have meant Euergetes I. But this opinion is founded upon erroneous premisses. The plain grammatical structure of the words alleged can only refer the date to the age of the writer, not to that of the king[2]. The ambiguity about Euergetes leaves the matter unexplained; and reference must therefore be made to the second point, the identification of Simon, son of Onias. Simon I. and Simon II. are separated from each other by very nearly a century. The first, surnamed the Just, was high-priest between the years 310—290 B.C. He was a very celebrated man, and is known as the last of the 'men of the great Assembly[3].' Simon II. was high-priest

[1] *Op. cit.* II. 73 (1857). Fritzsche, *l. c.*

[2] Baihinger, *Stud. u. Kritik.* 1857, p. 93 seq. Zündel, p. 236. Westcott (Smith's *Bibl. Dict.* Art. 'Ecclesiasticus'), p. 479, note c. The passage is as follows: *ἐν γὰρ τῷ ὀγδόῳ καὶ τριακοστῷ ἔτει ἐπὶ τοῦ Εὐεργέτου βασιλέως παραγενηθεὶς εἰς Αἴγυπτον.....εὗρον κ.τ.λ.*

[3] The assessors of Ezra's tribunal after the Return were called the 'Men of the great Assembly.' They were Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Daniel, Hananiah, Misael, Azariah, Nehemiah ben Hachalijah, Mordechai, Balshan, Zerubbabel, and several other sages to the full number of 120. The last of these 120 was Simon the Just, who received the oral laws from all those whom he survived. He was high-priest next in succession to Ezra. (Maimonides, *Introd. to Yad Chazakah*); v. also Herzfeld, *Op. cit.* Vol. I. (1855), xii. Excurs. 'Ueber die Männer der grossen Synagogue,' pp. 380–96.

at the time when Ptolemy IV., Philopator, attempted to force his way into the Temple (B.C. 219—199) (3 Macc i. 2), but nothing farther is known of him. From an examination of the manner in which Sirach speaks of Simon it has been usually supposed that he was personally acquainted with him. That supposition has been questioned. He may have been so, but the language he employs is only that which might be very properly used by any learned Jew when speaking of one of the most famous men of his nation. But the eulogy pronounced upon Simon does seem to point more naturally to Simon I. than to his namesake. Of the latter we know comparatively nothing; of the former, sayings characteristic of his wisdom were treasured and transferred to the pages of the Talmud[1]; and he was universally regarded as one of the great benefactors of his people. In enumerating those benefactors, it seems difficult to explain why Simon I. should have been passed over, and the less celebrated Simon II. commemorated; so that as a mere question of probabilities the balance seems to favour the former more than the latter. The advocates of the identification of the 'Simon' of Sirach with Simon I. or Simon II. have generally attached to their identification the condition that with Simon I. must be taken Euergetes I., and with Simon II. Euergetes II. But there are difficulties connected with this which have been thus stated by Fritzsche and Westcott[2]. The description of Simon may be allowed to refer with greater probability to Simon I but there are internal evidences against the *translator* being placed so far back as the middle of the third century. The translation, though Hebraistic in style, betrays a familiarity with the

[1] For instance, 'Meseceth Aboth,' I. xviii. 'On three things hangs the universe, on justice, truth, and peace.' Perhaps too great stress must not be laid on the title 'the Just.' Herzfeld, I. 377 (1855), mentions three Simons who bore this honorary title. Simon I. and Simon II. and a Simon who lived about 41 A.D.

[2] Fritzsche, p. xvii. seq. Westcott, Art. 'Ecclesiasticus,' p. 479.

Septuagint version, and a reproduction of its language which is hardly consistent with so early a date. Westcott, therefore, proposes a combination of these views. He places the visit to Egypt of the translator, already in his 38th year at least, early in the reign of Ptolemy Physkon; and considers it quite possible that the book itself was written, while the name and person of the last of the men of the great Synagogue were still familiar to his countrymen. The political and social troubles alluded to in the book (li. 6, 12, xxxiv. ff.) are considered to point to the more disturbed times of the Syrian dominion over Egypt rather than to the comparatively tranquil period of the Ptolemæan supremacy. Under this view the date of Jesus Sirach, the author, would be about 200 B.C., and the Greek translation would be made about the time of Antiochus Epiphanes (B.C. 170).

There are, however, considerations which, whether conclusive or not, seem to diminish the force of one or two of the above remarks. The allusions to the troubles either in the passages above cited or in those selected by Herzfeld[1] (ii. 12—14, xxxiii.; xlii. 2) are very indistinct. To any ordinary reader, who took up the book expecting to find in it 'wisdom and learning,' 'dark sentences and parables, and certain particular ancient godly stories of men that pleased God,' 'prayer and song,' the description of 'benefits vouchsafed unto God's people,' and of 'plagues heaped upon their enemies' (prologue), the conviction would rather be that the moral element far exceeds the polemical. There are encouragements, consolations, warnings, and the like without number; but they are directed to those who are sinners far more than to those who are suffering from persecution. Again, the peculiarities of style in those particular points in which they approach the Alexandrian version, are not sufficiently marked to bear the

[1] Herzfeld, *Op. cit.* II. 74 (1857).

argument deduced from them. They are not greater than what might be expected. And the gap of time between Simon I. (d. 291 B. C.) and the commencement of Ptolemy Physkon's reign (170 B. C.) seems too long to be explained so as to suit the composition of the book in 200 B. C. There is a freshness and a spirit in the description of Simon, which though not necessarily proceeding from the pen of a friend and contemporary, seems hardly in accordance with its composition nearly a hundred years after his decease. It is this latter feature of vividness and forcible representation which has, in fact, led to the belief that Simon I. and the 'grandfather of Sirach' were contemporaries. Starting therefore from that supposition, and remembering that the 'grandson' was 38 years old at the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes I. (247 B. C.), the age of Sirach would be not later than about 300 B. C.; and, at that time, says Baihinger[1], the time of Simon I. the high-priest, the Canon may be supposed closed. He returns, in short, with Hengstenberg, Auberlen, and Oehler to the original opinion of Eichhorn, that about a century after the new consolidation of the Hebrew power in Palestine, the Canon was considered completed, and those books enrolled which we find in it now.

Thus early, therefore, or, on the other supposition, about the year 200, apocryphal and canonical literature was clearly distinguished; and the possibility of any commixture of the two obviated by the closing of the Canon. It remains now to be seen how this affects the position of the Book of Daniel. If this third class of writings known to the grandfather of Jesus Sirach, is identified with the third division of the Canon, the Cetubim, then the Book of Daniel under either date (*c.* B. C. 300 or B. C. 200) must have existed before the date of Antiochus Epiphanes. It is this fact which makes the opponents of the authenticity

[1] *Stud. u. Krit.* p. 97. Zündel, p. 238. Oehler (Herzog's *Real-Encycl.*) Art. 'Canon,' VII. 243, seq.

of the book strongly deny the identification. Herzfeld, Dillmann, Bleek refuse to acknowledge it. Dillmann[1], for instance, because the expression, *τὰ πάτρια βιβλία*, is not defined by the epithet *ἅγια*; while Bleek[2] prefers to place the closing of the Canon among the Jews of Palestine about 100 B. C., and among the Hellenistic Jews later still. But the manner in which Sirach mentions the 'Law, the Prophecies, and the remainder of the Books,' evidently points to perfect divisions of a completed whole: the phrase descriptive of the last class suggests no fair reason for supposing that it was still indefinite and open to additions. And there are other facts which singly point to the probability of the Canon being then closed, and unitedly may be said to certify it. There are passages in the Talmud which bring the existence of the latest members of the Cetubim down to even 400 B. C.[3] In our Lord's time the division was known under the name of the Psalms (*νόμος καὶ προφῆται καὶ ψάλμοι*, S. Luke xxiv. 44), the first Book of the Cetubim being probably used to express the whole class. Philo speaks of the Therapeutæ finding their food in 'laws and oracles uttered by prophets, and hymns (*ὕμνοι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα*) and other books (or means) by which knowledge and piety are increased and perfected[4];' where *ὕμνοι* represents the third division of the Canon. And there is, above all, the classic passage of Josephus (*contr. Apion.* I. 8). The historian there mentions the twenty-two books of the Hebrew Bible; and as notes of time for their reception and canonicity, he makes his *terminus à quo* the death of Moses, and his *terminus ad quem* the Persian Xerxes. From that time, he adds, there have been other writings, but they are not to be ranked in

[1] *Jahrb. für D. Theol.* 1858, p. 477 sq., 483 sq., 487.

[2] *Einl.* pp. 674–5.

[3] *e. g.* the celebrated passage from Baba-Bathra (v. Westcott, *Canon.* pp. 253–4).

[4] *De Vitâ Contempl.* 3; II. 475. Westcott, *l. c.*

point of authority with the writings that preceded them, because of the cessation of the accurate succession of prophets[1]. Our own Scriptures (γράμματα), he continues, we regard as decrees of God (δόγματα Θεοῦ). These passages unitedly point to a definite and fixed Canon of Scripture; and it must be remembered that they all proceed upon the supposition, that what they are recording was a long-established opinion. Josephus, the evangelist, the oral tradition, may be respectively regarded as the exponents of the belief not of their own age only, but of the belief received from the fathers. In such a point the superstitious reverence of the Jew for the sacred records must not be forgotten. From Moses to Josephus there existed a cautiousness in adding anything to the Scriptures or diminishing aught from them, which made the act of collecting and canonizing the respective writings no literary nor casual task, but one to be undertaken in the most solemn and grave spirit.

The triple division of the Canon thus established, as I believe, by the time of Jesus Sirach, what was the nature of its third division? and why is Daniel found in the third and not in the second? The opinions upon both these points again divide themselves in accordance with a belief or a disbelief in the authenticity of the book. The Canon was kept open, say Herzfeld[2] and Bleek[3], to admit those writings which at a later period (*i.e.* the Maccabean) claimed recognition at the hands of the Jews. Though the Jews of Palestine, about a hundred years B.C., had come to the conclusion that the Spirit of God no longer rested upon their countrymen as of old: though they

[1] Compare the old Jewish tradition before noted, p. 29, n. 5, and the statement in 1 Macc. ix. 27. Oehler, p. 249.

[2] *Op. cit.* II. 96 (1857). He places the completion of the Canon long after the birth of Christ.

[3] *Einl.* 672–4.

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believed it impossible that any writing could henceforth be produced worthy of a resting-place by the side of the Thorah and the prophetic writings; though, again, they admitted into their Canon no writing which could not claim to have been originally composed about 100 years after the termination of the exile[1]; yet exceptions to this rule were made in favour of the books of Daniel and Ecclesiastes. These were admitted into the Canon because considered (popularly) to be the writings of Daniel and Solomon. The books came before the Jews with the literary recommendation of a titular connection with an old prophet and a wise man[2]. Their historical or their didactic nature increased the prejudice in their favour and secured their canonical acceptance. In the case of Daniel we are to consider it a very probable supposition, that soon after its appearance, and in spite of its unhistorical character, it was hailed with ready recognition. It met with no opposition from the strict and religious leaders of Israel.

It would seem, therefore, that if it had not been for these two books the Canon would have been definitely closed by the age of Jesus Sirach, and probably long before. As this was not the case, we must believe that it was kept open long after it was tacitly allowed to be closed, in the forlorn hope that some writings would yet come in deserving of a place in its ranks. This actually took place, and then, but not till then, the Canon was closed. On the face of it such a mode of argument can satisfy no one; it is made to suit a particular case, and certainly contradicts the whole spirit of Jewish opinion respecting their sacred books. On whose authority and by whose judgment were these books admitted at this late date? The 'men of the great Assembly' were all dead. The spirit which quickened them had rested upon no successor. Peaceful times were at

[1] Bleek, *l. c.*

[2] Bleek, *l. c.* Herzfeld, II. 55 (1857).

an end. There was oppression without and dissension within. During the age of Antiochus Epiphanes, and after that down to the Christian era, where could unanimity be found sufficient to discuss soberly and gravely the admission of a new book into the Canon? Admit the consolatory object of the Pseudo-Daniel in writing, yet would it not be utterly thrown away upon the Hellenising party who favoured the interests of the Syrian persecutor? That party was headed by Jason, the high-priest[1], and was he likely to recognise a work which, on the modern view, was directed against his patron and all who sided with him? And if the high-priest rejected it would it not be certain that a large party would adopt his view purely from respect to his office, and through consideration of the supposed infallibility superstitiously attached to his opinion? At a later period we meet with the violent sect of the Sadducees. If they did not reject prophetic writings they ignored them. They took the Thorah as their code of life, and refused credit to whatever writing beyond it defined too accurately dogmas opposed to their creed. They also had their followers. Members of this sect filled for many years the chief pontifical office,—and were they likely to recognise in the hour of their triumph a book which more strongly than any other inculcated the doctrines of angels and of the resurrection of the dead? That they did not we have proof positive in the fact that the Book of Daniel was the book above all which they rejected[2]. It is both impossible and improbable that the Book of Daniel was admitted into the Canon after the manner suggested by Herzfeld and Bleek. The Canon was closed by the time of Jesus Sirach, and by that time Daniel was counted canonical.

But what was the nature of the third division of the Canon, the Cetubim? Is there any just reason for finding

[1] 2 Macc. iv.

[2] Herzfeld, II. 104.

Daniel inserted in that division and not in the second? I believe there is. Not one but many facts tend to prove that the triple division of the Canon was not formed on arbitrary haphazard principles, but with a strict regard to the fundamental ideas of Judaism. Mosaism and Prophetism, says Philippson[1], declare the objective doctrines of God, the world, and mankind. The Hagiographa (Cetubim) enlarge on the relation of God to the individual, and of the individual to his God[2]. The Law is the first stage in the progressive developement of the Old Testament religion. The Nebi-im presents the next stage objectively. The Cetubim the third subjectively, with special regard to the religion and piety of the individual. And thus it is that this triple division of the Old Testament Canon is itself a reflection of the different stages of religious developement through which the Jewish nation passed. As the foundation of the whole revelation of God comes the Thorah, enforcing that special discipline by which the chosen race was to be trained from a savage wilfulness to the accomplishment of the divine work appointed to it. The Nebi-im in their turn exhibit the struggles of the same people when brought into close connection with the kingdoms of the world, and when led to search for inward antitypes of the outward precepts conveyed to them. And lastly, the Hagiographa reveal the workings of the religious idea in the various phases of individual life; they depict its relation to the great problems of thought and feeling presenting themselves by a necessary law in the later stages of civilisation[3]. It was not then so much outward authority as inward features—exhibiting a greater or a less approximation to this or that stage of religious developement—which led to the position in the Canon of the respective books. How does

[1] *Developement of the Relig. Idea.* Engl. Transl. 8vo. Lond. 1855, p. 117.
[2] Oehler, Art. 'Kanon,' 254. (Herzog's *R.-E.*).
[3] Westcott, Art. 'Canon' (Smith's *Bibl. Dict.*), p. 252.

this apply to the Book of Daniel? Supposing that the Cetubim represents a specific and necessary phase in the history of this developement[1], are there any features in the Book of Daniel which would naturally refer it to the third rather than to the second of these Canonical divisions? Daniel was a prophet, why is he not among the prophets as in the LXX Version? The answer is that he is not so much a prophet as an Apocalyptic seer[2]. The objective and subjective features which singly would decide his position in the Nebi-im or the Cetubim, are united in Daniel in a remarkable manner: but the subjective element preponderates; and therefore it was, that with something more than proper tact[3]—with a deep penetration into the peculiarities of the book—Ezra and Nehemiah, or Simon the Just, did not reckon him with the prophets, but placed him in that class where subjectivity prevails. Upon this view the Book of Daniel, placed in the same collection as the Psalms, Proverbs, Job, &c., seems naturally placed. It is there from its connection with the subject-matter of those writings. And the same book placed midway between the poetry and the prose, the moral and the historical portions of this division, is again naturally placed[4]. It has elements in common with both. Prayer and prophecy link it to the softer, more spiritual members of the Cetubim: history and narrative to the sterner, more prosaic records of the Jewish annals. An examination of the prophets of the Nebi-im seems to advance and support the distinction laid down above. The objective element is strongly developed in them. For instance, Isaiah in the Holy City, Ezekiel at Chebar, Zechariah in Judæa after the Return, laboured among their

[1] Philippson, p. 116.

[2] Baihinger, *Stud. u. Krit.* 1857, p. 96. Zündel, p. 222 int. al.

[3] Baihinger, p. 97.

[4] Herzfeld, II. 55, considers that the introduction of Daniel and historical works into the Canon 'obliterated the hymnological nature of this division.' This is a tacit concession of the subjective nature of the division.

people by divine appointment. They were sent to work as well as to speak. Each of those names recalls the memory of a prophet who delivered his message face to face with his people. They were the appointed 'preachers of righteousness,' and whether men would 'hear or whether they would forbear,' they were bound to speak. Daniel, on the contrary, does nothing of this. He is a prophet[1], he was so called by our Lord, by the LXX, and by Josephus, and yet there is no command to him to go forth and labour among his fellow-captives as the messenger of God. He moved among his fellow-countrymen a silent God-fearing man, working by his example more than by speech. At the proper time he uttered the divine message to Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar, as Jonah did at Nineveh, fearless of consequences. His mission as a prophet was to the heathen. He was not called upon to declare the whole counsel of God to his own people as was his contemporary Ezekiel. Such a step might, humanly speaking, have imperilled his position as their protector; Daniel was able to do his work as a religious reformer by silence and by example. The form and contents of the Book of Daniel support this difference. They are emphatically distinct from those of the prophets of the Nebi-im. In the writings of Isaiah, Jeremiah, &c., a lofty impassioned spirit and a nervous thrilling diction characterise every page. It is the 'word of the LORD' flashing through every line and quickening every thought. But the prophecies of Daniel are recorded in visions and dreams; their subjects are revealed in symbolical shapes and scenes. He hears the discourses of heavenly spirits. He receives into his own heart words addressed by angels to himself; and what he hears, what he receives, he treasures and records in silence. The

[1] 'Non si quis prophetat, ideo propheta est. Ac profecto si quis propheta est, is quidem prophetat, sed vero qui prophetat non continuo etiam est propheta.' Origen, quoted by Delitzsch (Herzog, *R.-E.* Art. 'Daniel').

palace of Susa and the courts of Babylon were no fitting localities for the open promulgation of such mysteries. This form of revelation is not indeed entirely confined to Daniel. It is found occasionally in some of the other prophets[1]. But where with them it is the exception, with him it is the rule. It is more common in Zechariah who lived later, but for anything that can be determined to the contrary it was probably entirely independent; or if precedent be required, it was more likely that Zechariah adopted it from Daniel than the reverse. In Zechariah the usual mode of prophecy is far the more frequent, prevailing throughout the closing chapters (vii.—xiv.). Everything therefore unites in placing the Book of Daniel in the catalogue of the Cetubim, and that without any disparagement to the prophet. It is of very little moment that a later rabbin, Abarbanel[2], should attribute ascensive degrees of inspiration to the three divisions of the Canon. Such a distinction was unknown to the early doctors of the Jewish church[3], and Abarbanel himself admits that Daniel was endued with the highest prophetic power. In the Gemara[4] he is preferred to Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. Objections sometimes found against his work in later Jewish writings, are due to the arguments deduced from it by Christians against Jews in their proof that Jesus of Nazareth is foretold in the Messiah of Daniel (ix. 24—27). Talmudical writings contain many allusions to doubts cast upon Canonical books, and but very little value is to be attached to them[5]. The earliest Jewish catalogues of the Biblical books place

[1] Isai. vi.; Amos vii.; Jerem. xxiv.; Ezek. i. 8–11, 37, 40 sq.

[2] Keil. *Einl.* § 158, 6. The first was that of Moses; the second that of the 'Prophet'; the third that of the רוח הקדש, given without ecstasy, and produced in speech like that of other men.

[3] Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. in V. T.* I. p. 897 n. Wolfii, *Bibl. Hebr.* II. p. 46. Oehler, *Op. cit.* 254. Herzf. II. p. 19. (1857).

[4] Carpzov. *Crit. Sacr. in V. T.* pp. 977, 8.

[5] Comp. Eisenmenger, *Judenthum*, I. 433, sq.; II. 406. Herzfeld, II. 96, 97.

Daniel in the Cetubim, but as the chief of these[1] carries back the existence of the book to the time of the great Assembly, very little doubt can be entertained as to the feeling with which the compilers of this list regarded it themselves, or considered that Ezra and Nehemiah regarded it. The order of the Baba-Bathra is said to be chronological, and the position of Daniel in the order of its Cetubim may perhaps bear that interpretation. In the present arrangement of the Cetubim, the five Megilloth are placed close together for synagogal use (Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes and Esther), and immediately following them the Book of Daniel[2]. The book is thus in close connection with the historical works of Ezra, Nehemiah, and the Chronicles, which conclude the Cetubim.

The canonical position of the Book of Daniel may therefore be accepted as both natural and necessary. Far from being a proof against the authenticity of the book, that position, so early and so invariably maintained, is an evidence in its favour of no small moment. It supports in a remarkable manner the historical evidence for the acceptance and canonical admission of the book before the age of Antiochus Epiphanes.

[1] The Baba-bathra, v. Herzf. II. 102–4.
[2] Herzf. *l. c.*

CHAPTER III.

B. *ARGUMENTA E SILENTIO.*

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1. *Silence of Jesus Sirach* (Ecclesiasticus).

THE next argument against the authenticity of the Book of Daniel is that deduced from the silence of the writer of Ecclesiasticus.

I have already spoken at sufficient length upon the disputed date of this Book. But this objection is independent of the date. It turns upon an alleged omission.

In chapters xliv—l. is contained the eulogy of the heroes of Israel (ὕμνος πατέρων, ch. xliv.), but the name of Daniel is not found among them. This catalogue of great men embraces the Rulers, Patriarchs, Lawgivers, Prophets, and others who signalized themselves in their day. Among those of a later date—not to recall earlier names—are Isaiah (xlviii. 22), Jeremiah (xlix. 6, 7), Ezekiel (xlix. 8), the twelve Prophets (xlix. 10), Zorobabel (xlix. 11), and Nehemiah (xlix. 13).

It seems impossible to explain, says Bleek[1], the omission of Daniel's name. He was a man favoured with remarkable visions, and an actor in very momentous scenes—if the account of his book be followed; why then is his name absent from this list? There is but one explanation:

[1] *Einl.* p. 589. So Davidson, *Introd.* III. 170–1. 1863.

'the Book was neither known to Jesus Sirach, nor reckoned canonical in his day.' Evidently, arguments of this negative character depend very much upon the bias of the objector who employs them. With some they will have great weight, with others little or none. More often than not, negative arguments drawn from the silence of an author prove nothing and disprove nothing. In the present case, the objection rests upon the supposition that it was *necessary* for Jesus Sirach to mention Daniel. The author of the Book of Ecclesiasticus enumerated, it is said, his list of heroic Israelites upon a certain definite plan. In celebrating the Prophetic order three out of the four 'greater Prophets' are personally mentioned, and the twelve 'lesser Prophets' are summed up in a body. Daniel alone is omitted. The omission can only be explained on the supposition that Jesus Sirach was unacquainted with his work. In answer to this objection the defenders of the authenticity of the Book have usually urged two points: one turning upon a question of textual criticism, the other disputing the plan here attributed to Sirach.

The verse (xlix. 10) which mentions the twelve prophets is this, *καὶ τῶν δώδεκα προφητῶν τὰ ὀστᾶ ἀναθάλοι ἐκ τοῦ τόπου αὐτῶν. παρεκάλεσε δὲ τὸν Ἰακώβ, καὶ ἐλυτρώσατο αὐτοὺς ἐν πίστει ἐλπίδος.* (*Tischendorf*[1]).

It is alleged that this verse is spurious. De Wette, Hengstenberg, Hävernick and Westcott reckon it an interpolation. The reasons for this opinion are given by Bretschneider[2]. A later scribe appears to have inserted it as an after-thought, believing that the twelve prophets should be mentioned after Ezekiel (xlix. 9), after whose Book the Hebrew codices have placed the whole of the lesser prophets. One scribe inserted the words *καὶ δώδ. προφ.*, and a second added the words *τὰ ὀστᾶ...αὐτῶν* from (xlvi. 12). This is said to be borne out by the appearance

[1] LXX. Vol. II. Ed. 1856.

[2] *Liber Jesu Siracidæ*, p. 662 (Ratisb. 1806).

of the texts. The Cod. Vatic. reads as Tischendorf gives it; but the Cod. Alex., the Vulgate and Syriac versions read the verbs in the latter clause, not in the singular but in the plural to connect them with the 'Prophets' (*παρεκάλεσαν, ἐλυτρώσαντο.* Cod. A.). And if Sirach was commemorating the Prophets in a chronological order, it is thought that he would not have put the twelve Prophets after Ezekiel. Too much stress however must not be laid upon these arguments of Bretschneider's. Fritzsche[1] is probably right in affirming that the words *καὶ τῶν...αὐτῶν* are only displaced, and should succeed *ἐλπίδος* at the end of the verse. It is also a too precarious assumption that the words *τὰ ὀστᾶ κ.τ.λ.* were copied from xlvi. 10. And Herzfeld's[2] view that the singular of the verbs refers them to God as a nominative is unnecessary, and from the context incorrect; naturally and grammatically the verbs are connected with Ezekiel. The verse therefore must be retained, as is done in the texts of Holmes and Parsons, Tischendorf[3], &c. But it may be very fairly questioned whether Jesus Sirach compiled his catalogue of names upon any settled plan. On the contrary, it appears evident that he selects or omits as memory and fancy suggested. He commences his 'hymn' with Enoch (xliv. 16), and he closes this chapter (xlix. 14) by mentioning him once more: starting away again to speak of Joseph[4] (xlix. 15), and returning again to Shem, Seth, and Adam (xlix. 16). This independence and irregularity of illustration explains the omission of many names. It did not occur to Sirach, or it did not fall in with his plan, supposing him to have had a plan, to introduce the name of Daniel any more than that of Ezra. The omission of the latter is as remarkable as that of the former. The one was a priest and learned scribe of great reputation among

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 292. [2] *Gesch.* II. 95, note (1857).

[3] Field (LXX. ed. S. P. C. K., 1859) encloses the disputed words in brackets.

[4] Joseph, if any order had been intended, would have been commemorated after Jacob (xliv. 23).

*

his fellow-countrymen; the other was a prophet and equally celebrated for his remarkable virtues. If he omitted the one undesignedly, why might he not have done the same in the case of Daniel? It is beside the question to say that Ezra is omitted because the writer, when enumerating the champions of Israel at the time of the restoration of the temple and city, directed his attention to things and not to persons[1]. Upon that principle 'Jesus son of Josedec,' and 'Neemias' ought also to have been omitted. But this is not the case. Sirach commends both them and their works. No one, again, would argue from the silence of Sirach about Ezra that he was unacquainted with his name. This is at once contradicted by the mention of the name of Nehemiah. The name of the one and the writings of the one would naturally recall the name and the writings of the other. And similarly the *argumentum e silentio* with reference to Daniel fails under a like test. Sirach mentions Ezekiel (xlix. 8), and in that Prophet's writings there are the well-known allusions to Daniel (chs. xiv. xxviii.) which have been already mentioned. The name of the Prophet of Chebar was connected with that of the Prophet of Babylon: and the writings of the one would recall the writings of the other. If a reason for the omission of Daniel be wanted, it may be supplied from that very passage of Ezekiel (xxviii.)[2]. The individuality of his character is there singled out for praise; it was the individuality of Daniel's writings which placed him among the Cetubim; and it was again his individuality which caused the undesigned omission of his name from the lists of Sirach. That writer was thinking of and commemorating those heroes in whom active rather than passive virtues were pre-eminent. Of the two contemporaries, therefore, Ezekiel seemed the more fitting illustration of the heroic type during the captivity; and his name was chronicled,

[1] Fritzsche, p. 293. Davidson, *l. c.*

[2] Comp. Zündel, p. 225.

while that of Daniel was omitted, without however the slightest intention of disparagement of the latter, or the faintest hint of non-acquaintance with his writings. To deduce this last fact from the silence of Sirach is altogether unwarranted:—but still more unwarranted is the subsequent assumption, that the Book of Daniel is therefore unauthentic.

2. *Silence of later Scriptural writers.*

It is a matter of grave consideration to Bleek and Davidson[1] that no traces of Daniel's influence are to be found in the later prophets Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi. Zechariah especially ought to have exhibited such influence. In the use of symbolism he resembles Daniel, but in no other point. The Messianic ideas of Jeremiah have sensibly affected his writings; how is it then that the Visions of Daniel have not done so? and how is it that the angelology of Zechariah is so much less developed than that of Daniel? ought not the very contrary to have been expected? Now, without pausing over such objections, many of which are to be explained by pure common-sense reflections, such as differences of subject and circumstances, I will simply remark that the only prophet, Zechariah, who might be expected to exhibit parallel modes of thought to Daniel, does so in a most remarkable degree. The resemblance is so strong and the influence of Daniel so clear, that I have preferred removing the consideration of the point to the proofs of the authenticity of the Book of Daniel. The subject of angelology will also be found discussed under its proper heading. With this slight reference to a somewhat captious spirit of criticism, I pass on to points of a graver and more solid character.

[1] Bleek, p. 589. Davidson, p. 171.

CHAPTER IV.

C. *PHILOLOGICAL OBJECTIONS.*

THE philological questions connected with the Book of Daniel are exceedingly interesting and important. Both sides have appealed with confidence to arguments deduced from them, and both have claimed the victory. Bertholdt, Bleek, Baxmann, Bunsen, Williams[1] would have us believe that Macedonian words, the texture of the Chaldaic and late forms, remove all philological doubts as to the modern age of the book (B.C. 169). Hengstenberg, Hävernick, Auberlen, Keil, Delitzsch, Zündel, Westcott, and Rose[2] reply that upon the whole modern philology has rather tended to remove the objection than to confirm it. Macedonian words above all, it is maintained, do not necessarily bring down the date to a later period than 536 B.C. When doctors differ who may presume to decide? The subject however is so exceedingly interesting that it well deserves all the attention that it has received.

The language of the book, no less than its general structure, evidently belongs to an age of transition. The fact is well known that it is composed partly in Chaldee (Aramaic), partly in Hebrew. The opening chapters

[1] *Essays and Reviews*, p. 76.

[2] *Replies to E. and R.* p. 115.

(i—ii. 4 a) are written in Hebrew; but the Casdim[1] on returning their answer to Nebuchadnezzar, do so in Aramaic (Angl. 'Syriac,' ארמית); and this language is retained as far as the middle of the book (ii. 4 b—vii. 28). The Hebrew is then resumed, and is preserved till the end (viii—xii). Coupled with this peculiar interchange of the two dialects, are those other solecisms before mentioned, Greek technical terms, and Persian words.

These linguistic idiosyncracies have led in the first place to a denial of the unity of our present book. Objectors have been taught by them to subdivide and assign to separate authors the work they impugn. Eichhorn imagined that chapters i—vi. were written by one scribe, chapters vii—xii. by another. And his view underwent a curious refinement at the hands of Bertholdt[2]. This critic supposed that each section was the work of a distinct author or writer, though he allowed that each was acquainted with the writing of his predecessor. He rested this opinion upon supposed historical contradictions between various sections, as *e.g.* i. 21 with x. 1; i. 1, 5 with ii. 1; ii. 48, 49 with v. 11—14; but it was refuted by Bleek[3], who pronounced it, soon after it appeared, partly false and destitute of foundation, partly resting on the slightest possible proof. Of the mutual dependence of the chapters of the book there is now no doubt. De Wette and Keil[4] have convincingly proved it. The first chapter, for instance, introduces Daniel and his three companions. The second explains the circumstances which brought

[1] In speaking of that particular *class* called 'Chaldæans' in the *E. V.* (i. 4) I have preferred to call them 'Casdim' (a reproduction in English letters of the original word), in order to avoid any confusion with the Chaldæans as a *nation*. In this I have followed Benisch and Zunz in their respective English and German translations of the Old Testament.

[2] Bertholdt's divisions may be seen (to name the latest work) in Zündel, p. 40. Michaelis made out eight, Eichhorn ten, and Bertholdt nine writers.

[3] Comp. the *Einl.* p. 585.

[4] In their respective *Einleitungen*, s.n. Daniel.

them prominently forward. The third records the conduct of the latter when their exalted and firm demeanour brought them face to face with the alternative, death or idolatry; and so on through the chapters. Examples and references from one section to another are found in iii. 12 to ii. 49; v. 2 to i. 2; v. 11 to ii. 48; viii. 1 to vii. 1; ix. 21 to viii. 15; x. 12 to ix. 23; while again the historical and prophetic portions are connected with each other, and become, in spite of their difference of language, bound up one with the other by such peculiarities as are inexplicable on the supposition of plurality of authorship. Such passages as the following are good illustrations of this: ii. 28, iv. 2, 7, 10 with vii. 1, 2, 15; v. 6, 9 with vii. 28 (זיו שנא); iv. 16, v. 6, 10 with vii. 28 (רעיוני יבהלנני); iii. 4, 7, 31, v. 19, vi. 26 with vii. 14 (עממיא וגו׳). But while the unity of the book is thus fully borne out by the diction, the spirit, and the representations pervading it; while, again, all historical evidence supports its canonicity; it does not follow that the book as we *now* have it is to be assigned to the original authorship of Daniel. In its present form the book possesses peculiarities of an internal character which seem to suggest a certain extraneous aid perfectly compatible with the recognition of its unity and authority. The change of person, for instance, is very remarkable. Daniel is sometimes spoken of historically (i. 8—21; ii. 14—49; iv. 8—27; v. 13—29; vi. 2—28; vii. 1, 2); sometimes he speaks personally (vii. 15—28; viii. 1; ix. 22; x. 1—19; xii. 5). Laudatory epithets are applied to him, and so expressed as to preclude their emanation from Daniel himself (i. 17, 19; v. 11, 12). A different and a peculiar title is given to him (ix. 23; x. 11), and there are traces of a revisionist's unintentional repetition (vi. 24, 25). It is not of course denied that such changes of person are without parallel (*e.g.* Isai. xxxv—xxxix; vii. 3; xx. 2), and the viith chapter of the book seems to prepare the way for

the change. There, in the first and second verses Daniel is spoken of in the third person; while the substance of the chapter is narrated in a personal form (vv. 2, 15, 28). These laudatory expressions, again, may be explained as proceeding from others, and as retained as faithful testimonies of what was said of or to him. They may be regarded as sometimes designed to glorify God, sometimes to fill up a description otherwise incomplete; and they may be said to resemble those which S. Paul applied to himself (1 Cor. xv. 10; 2 Cor. xi. 5, 6; xii. 2). Or, again, the change of person may be supposed due to the nature of the case. As a prophet, Daniel would narrate symbolic and representative events historically, but when treating of visions and revelations the personal form implying attestation seemed preferable. But I agree with Mr Westcott[1] in thinking these reasons insufficient and forced, and Zündel[2] does not seem to present them in a more persuasive form. It will be remarked that the change of person and the differences mentioned separate the book, as Eichhorn separated it, into two main portions; and the question which seems to suggest itself, after an impartial study of the critical phenomena of the text, is this. Did Daniel himself put what he wrote into its present form? or, did he hand down to his countrymen records which they preserved, and united together shortly after the Return? This latter opinion is adopted in France by M. Quatremère[3], in England by Mr Westcott[4]. By the French scholar the book is considered to be composed of literary fragments of very varied description, historical pieces, diplomatic acts, &c. These he believes Daniel preserved, but did not reunite into one collected and consecutive whole. The historical notices furnish, in fact, an illustration of this fragmentary character. No one sup-

[1] Art. 'Daniel,' p. 394. [2] P. 39 sq. to give the last writer on that side.
[3] *Mélanges d'Histoire et de Philologie Orientale*, p. 385.
[4] Art. cit. pp. 392, 394.

poses that the Book of Daniel offers a complete series of the historical events which took place at Babylon between the reigns of Nebuchadnezzar and Cyrus. And this view seems supported by the old Jewish tradition contained in the Talmudic writing called Baba-Bathra[1]. It is there affirmed that the 'men of the great assembly wrote (כתב) the books' contained in the memorial letters KaNDaC, *i.e.* 'Ezekiel, the twelve lesser Prophets, Daniel, and Esther. Ezra wrote his own book, and Nehemiah son of Hachalijah brought the remainder of the books to a close.' In spite of the comparatively late date (c. A.D. 500) from which this tradition is derived, the fact here stated is in every way consonant with the history of Judaism, and with the internal evidence of the books themselves. The expression, 'they wrote,' is not of course to be taken in the sense of composing; it simply signifies that they reduced to writing, or placed in their present form, those particular writings. The sense given to it by Herzfeld[2], admitted into the Canon, is tantamount to the other, but more strongly expressed. Internal character and traditional evidence seem in this case to be very happily agreed. It must always be remembered that the substantial authorship of a book of Scripture does not involve the subordinate work of arrangement and revision. It seems moreover difficult to conceive why any writer should purposely compose *one* book in two languages; but it is not difficult to conceive such a man as Daniel treating in separate records, first, the events of general history in the vernacular dialect; and secondly, the special fortunes of God's people, in the more sacred language, the Hebrew[3]. At the Return these revered fragments were collected and brought into one whole, acquiring at the

[1] V. Westcott, Art. 'Canon,' pp. 251, 253, 254.

[2] *Gesch.* II. 94 (1857). Herzfeld of course disallows the deduction in the text. He is merely quoted for the sense of the word כתב.

[3] Westcott, Art. 'Daniel,' *l. c.*

hands of Ezra and his contemporaries that unity and yet particularity which distinguish the present Book of Daniel[1].

This view as to the authorship of the book does not, as will have been seen, affect its unity. That unity is now conceded on all sides. It is the foundation-stone upon which opponents and defenders of the authenticity equally rest. The one, to ascribe it to the age usually assigned to it; the other, to refer it to the age of Antiochus Epiphanes.

The philological grounds for the latter view turn upon several points which may be conveniently taken in order.

1. *Greek Words.*

In chapter iii. there is a description of the various instruments of music used to celebrate the dedication of the golden image of Nebuchadnezzar. The names of these instruments are said to be of Greek origin. Granted, says Bleek[2], that it is difficult to determine whether such names came to Greeks and Babylonians from some common source, or even to the Greeks from the Babylonians; yet there can be no doubt that the writer of this Book, whether directly or indirectly, learnt them from Greeks. For in the first place it is very improbable that the musical instruments of the Greeks were used at the court of Nebuchadnezzar under their Greek names: and in the second, it is not likely that Daniel or a Jew of Palestine of that age would have been so familiar with these Greek names as to have set them down unexplained or unaccompanied by

[1] A slightly different view to the above is maintained by Herbst, Sack, and others. It labours, however, under the serious defect of considering Daniel the author of the second part of the Book only, chapters i—vi. being added by a later hand as an Introduction to the Visions. Through this defect, the opinion laid itself open to Bleek's animadversion (*Einl.* pp. 584–5).

[2] *Einl.* p. 596. Davidson, III. 193 (1863).

some cognate term. The objection is a plausible but not a very solid one. The list of the Greek words said to be discovered in the Book of Daniel, has been very much shorn of its original dimensions. Bertholdt insisted upon a Greek origin for almost every name; Bleek rests now only upon four, though with De Wette[1] he is bound to allow that even these were possibly known to the Babylonians of that day. These four are as follows:—1. סוּמְפֹנְיָה (iii. 5, 15), or, סוּפֹנְיָא (id. 10), *συμφωνία* (Syr. ܣܘܦܘܢܝܐ). 2. פְּסַנְתֵּרִין, *ψαλτήριον*. 3. קִיתָרוֹס, *κίθαρος*. 4. סַבְּכָא, *σαμβύκη*[2]. Herzfeld[3] reduces this list yet further, giving up the two last as respectively Syriac and Persian. So that in fact the objection rests upon two words. Yet upon this, modern criticism has built up one stage of its dictum that the writer was a Jewish scribe of the age of the Ptolemies and Seleucids, the Hellenistic successors of Alexander[4].

The answer to this objection very much depends upon a due apprehension of the relations between Greece and Babylonia in those early times. Now it has been convincingly pointed out that even long before Greek history began to be written, there was very close connection between Greece and Assyria[5]. Peace and war tended equally to sustain it. Berosus[6] records the battle and victory of Sennacherib over a Greek army in Cilicia in the 18th century B.C.; and Heeren[7], in proving Greek merchants to have penetrated

[1] *Einl.* § 255 b. Baxmann (*Stud. u. Krit.* p. 464, 1863) is very particular in pointing out that De Wette, Bleek, &c. only allow the possibility of this, not its probability.

[2] *σαμβ.—ὄργανα μουσικὰ τρίγωνα ἐν οἷς τοὺς ἰάμβους ᾖδον* (Suidas). This word Renan specifies as having come from the East to the West. *Hist. Générale d. langues Sémitiques*, p. 207, 3rd edit. 1863. So Herzfeld.

[3] *Gesch.* I. 295 (1847). Mill, *Myth. Interpr. of Gospels*, p. 131, n. 20 (ed. Webb). R. Payne Smith, *Prophecies of Isaiah*, p. 288 (1862).

[4] Bleek, *Einl.* 596.

[5] Brandis, *Ueber d. historischen Gewinn aus d. Entzifferung d. Assyrischen Inschriften*, p. 1 sq., 1856.

[6] *Fragm. Histor. Græc.* ed. C. Müller, II. p. 504.

[7] *Ideen*, I. p. 920 sq.

at a very early period to the steppes of Russia, evidences that spirit of mercantile enterprise which must certainly have gained them an early footing in the more civilized districts of central Asia. Greek soldiers were to be found in the armies of Asarhaddon (680—67 B.C.); and Antimenides is made the subject of a poetical fragment by his brother Alcæus for the distinguished honours he had gained under the standard of Nebuchadnezzar[1]. Very early, such commercial marts as Tyre and Sidon must have been the media of intercourse between Babylon and Nineveh in the East, and the Greek states on the coasts of Asia Minor towards the West. Babylonians and Assyrians would hear through Phœnician merchants of the superiority of Greek architects and musicians; and through the same Phœnician channels, Greek artists and artisans of high reputation would reach the lands of the Euphrates and Tigris[2]. Thus, far earlier than the age of the Captivity, we might expect to find Greek words in a Babylonian dress, or Babylonian words naturalised among the Greeks. But with reference to these two or these four words, it should be noticed that they represent musical instruments, and that in connection with a religious festival. The importance of this fact has hardly been sufficiently considered; for it is, in truth, a tacit attestation to the authenticity of the Book. It appears quite certain that Greek music owed its birth to Eastern sources[3]. It came to them, with so much that contributed to the glory of early Greece, from the Phœnicians. And these Phœnicians were under the yoke of Assyria, Chaldæa and Persia in succession. Closely connected with the Assyrian by conquest was the Babylonian, but far more closely was he connected with the Phœnician[4].

[1] Brandis, *l. c.* Delitzsch, Art. 'Daniel' (Herzog, *R.-E.*).

[2] Comp. *Journal of Sacred Literature*, Oct. 1859, p. 153.

[3] Forkel, *Allgemeine Geschichte d. Musik*, Vol. I. ch. iv. 187 sq. Burney, *Hist. of Music*, I. 259-60. *British Cyclopædia* (Partington), Art. 'Music.'

[4] Movers, *Die Phoenizier*, p. 57.

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They were bound to each other by the common origin of one speech—the Semitic. The gods worshipped on the Mediterranean appear under the same names and with similar worship on the Euphrates. Baal and Astarte were worshipped at Babylon, Tyre, and Carthage, with but slightly different names and with only local differences of ritual. The Babylonian religion—that mixture of Assyrian Magism or Chaldaism, and of Syrian nature and image-worship[1]—found its outlet from the East through Phœnicia; and from the ports of that narrow strip of land went forth first one and then another disseminating, amongst other things, the idolatrous worship of Babylonian and Eastern divinities, with its accompanying externals of music and pageant[2]. These were readily adapted by the Greeks to their new home; and as they caught up from Semitic sources the names of plants, animals, gems, dresses, ornaments, weights, and measures[3];—as they drew their music and their poetry from the same cradle of science and art[4];—what more probable than this, that the original names of musical instruments should be preserved among them Græcised but almost unaltered? and what again more natural, than that those very names should float back again to their Babylonian and Persian homes, to find but little change in their tenor and import, when the religious ideas of the West recoiled in their turn upon the East[5]? It is this which explains the preservation of the same word in both Aryan and Semitic families. *κίθαρος* deserves to be called by Muys[6] pure Greek; but Benfey[7] when he calls it Semitic, and narrates how Thamyris the cithara-player was called a Semite from the land of his instrument, is equally correct; and so again is the Syriac scholar von

[1] Movers, *Die Phoenizier*, p. 68.
[2] *Id.* pp. 8–15. Muys, *Forschungen auf d. Gebiete d. Alten Völker*, p. 217.
[3] Muys, *Id.* p. 245 sq. Renan, p. 249.
[4] *Id.* p. 252.
[5] Movers, *Die Phoenizier*, p. 83.
[6] *Op. cit.* s. v.
[7] *Griech. Wurzel-Lexicon.*

Lengerke[1] when he calls it Persian. The word ran through both families; and its history is an illustration of the diffusion of language.

When we find therefore, in the musical festivities of a religious character instituted by the Babylonian sovereign, instruments bearing names confessedly Babylonian as well as Greek; their presence, far from stigmatising the work which contains them as a forgery, should be counted if anything a testimony to its genuineness. Those Greek names might be and probably were current in the days of Alexander's successors, but they had existed long before in Babylonia[2], and they could cause no surprise to Daniel or suggest to him the necessity of explaining them. This last requirement is simply an after-thought. If the musical instruments ought to have been explained, much more ought those mysterious garments which swathed the limbs of the "three children" when cast into the furnace. The listening Israelite would feel a much keener interest in understanding those words than in those relating to the instruments employed in pagan processions.

2. *The alternate use of Hebrew and Chaldee.*

This is the main linguistic peculiarity of the Book of Daniel. At first sight this alternate use of the two languages might almost be called natural, because characteristic of a time when the Jews were familiar with both[3]. And it certainly has the effect of externally placing the Book among the writings of the Captivity; Jeremiah and Ezra being the only two canonical works connected with that period, exhibiting a similar union. But this phenomenon has been otherwise regarded. De Wette[4] understood

[1] Quoted in Herzfeld, I. 295 (1847).

[2] Vide note at end of chap. IV.

[3] Zündel, p. 245. So most of the critics on either side.

[4] *Einl.* §. 255, pp. 321, 2.

it as evidence that after the Return both languages were familiar to the *learned* Jews only; and he therefore objected to any argument deduced from this in favour of the authenticity of the Book. But this limitation of the circle of its readers to one, and that a very small class, is arbitrary and unsatisfactory. The instances we have of the alternate use of these two dialects are contained in works purporting to be due to that era to which their contents naturally refer them. And if in the case of Jeremiah[1] and Ezra this peculiarity is not supposed to invalidate the genuineness of their date, it is difficult to understand why a similar license should not be accorded to the Book of Daniel. The nature of the Hebrew and Chaldee respectively have undoubtedly proved great sources of contention, though they suggest instinctively as their author such a man as the Daniel of Scripture is described to be. The circumstances of his life and education are more than sufficient to account for any peculiarity of style and diction. It is not to be expected that a Jew trained in the courts of the Babylonian monarch would write with the purity of a Jew of Palestine: neither can it be supposed natural, that his native language would escape commixture with that which he heard daily around him. Had this been the case, Daniel would have been a miraculous phenomenon in himself; and his book, composed in Hebrew of the golden age, would have borne upon the face of it evident tokens of its spuriousness. These Hebrew and Chaldee peculiarities may best be considered in succession.

[1] It is evidently a matter of convenience, not of criticism, to suppose that the Targum has been here inadvertently substituted for the text. It is undoubtedly a fragment, but it is an authentic one. The reason for its occurrence given by Kimchi and Rashi is quite satisfactory (Buxtorf, *Bibl. Rabb.* on Jer. x. 11). The word ארקא for ארעא found in it, and said to be met with only in the Targums, may be a phonetic error, or an orthographical change by a later copyist; but possibly the two were thus early interchanged, especially as ארעא is the reading of the word in the 2nd clause of the verse. The word אלה which concludes it is not Hebrew only, it is also Aramaic, v. Kimchi, *l. c.*

3. *Nature of the Hebrew.*

Bertholdt[1] endeavoured to degrade the Hebrew of Daniel as low as possible. He considered that the language of the last five chapters sank in point of style below the Hebrew of the very latest books in the Old Testament. In comparison with the Hebrew sections of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, those of Daniel were said to be marked by distinct traits of a still later style: and in comparison with the books of Nehemiah, Esther, and the Hebrew portion of Ezra, the diction was affirmed to be of a very inferior character. Individual peculiarities he maintained, did not explain all these differences. Every author should reflect traces of the style of his day; and while such contemporary traces can easily be discovered in the style of Nehemiah, Ezra, and Esther, none such can be discovered in Daniel. He ought to exhibit similarity with Ezekiel, the latter part of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the Psalms written in or shortly after the time of the exile. So far from this being the case, said the critic, it is impossible not to feel that an interval of a couple of hundred years lies between them. The task of proving this Bertholdt left to posterity: but so confident was he of his opinion, that he predicted that, not only would philology be found to support him, but that it would become a self-evident and indisputable conclusion that chaps. viii.—xii. were written by an author long posterior to the age of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. Posterity has heard his appeal, but as far as the philological argument is concerned, only to decide against him. Bleek has wisely remarked that we have not sufficient literary remains from the different centuries after the Captivity to enable us to trace the gradual degeneracy of the Hebrew language.

[1] *Einl.* p. 1536.

It is difficult to determine with any certainty to what period a writer belongs[1]. Gesenius[2], again, one of the greatest masters of philology, and a writer opposed to the genuineness of the Book of Daniel, can do no more for Bertholdt's views than ascribe to Ezra, Nehemiah, Zechariah, and Malachi a somewhat purer idiom than to Daniel. This book he places in the same class with Esther, Ecclesiastes, Chronicles, and Jonah. According to him, of all the Old Testament writers, Ezekiel, Daniel's contemporary, is marked by the most flagrant instances of grammatical irregularities and incorrectness[3]. And there is a great deal of probability in a portion of this classification. Ezra, Nehemiah and the others wrote their books when they had returned to Judah; and it is known that one of their strongest efforts was made in the direction of restoring the corrupted purity of their language[4]. The Book of Esther, like Daniel, was in substance affected by the foreign element which its pages describe. It was natural that the Hebrew should become tainted by Persian or Iranian words. And if again, Ezra, Nehemiah, Haggai and Zechariah found it difficult to retain purity of Hebrew in Palestine itself, it should not cause surprise that Daniel's Hebrew should be still more deteriorated by his contact with Babylonian and foreign influence. There is in fact a kind of grade in some of these writings—Ezekiel in comparison with Jeremiah has a far greater number of Chaldaisms; and still more are found in the Hebrew portion of Daniel than in Ezekiel. This was to be expected if the book was written by a man such as Scripture describes Daniel to be. His linguistic impurities

[1] Hengstenberg, *Genuineness, &c.* p. 16.

[2] *Geschichte d. Hebr. Sprache* (Leipz. 1815), p. 26.

[3] In Ezek. and Zech. are found such forms as אַתְּ for the masculine, אַתֶּם for the feminine; הוֹשַׁבְתִּים for הוֹשַׁבְתִּים; and the form Nithpahel which assumed so much importance in Rabbinical Hebrew. (Comp. Renan, *Hist. d. langues Sémit.* p. 143. Gesenius, *Lehrgeb. d. Heb. Spr.* § 71, 4, Anmerk.)

[4] Nehem. xiii. 24.

are explained by his position and education. His retention of purity at all could only have been effected by a diligent and zealous study of those sacred writings carried to the exile (ix. 2). Of these 'Chaldaisms,' as they are called, there is also this to be remembered—that many of them existed and were current in the popular speech of the Jews long before Daniel wrote. There is a history of provincialisms—elements of a popular dialect—idioms illustrative of 'patois,' written in few but in marked characters in the successive pages of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel and Ezra. Far more justly should they be called Aramaisms[1]. Before the Captivity the tribes who lived in the north of Judæa and were neighbours to Syria, found the purity of their speech affected by contact with Aramaic. And though it is well nigh impossible to draw precise lines of distinction between the royal, pure dialect of Judæa, and the popular, more tainted speech:—though it is difficult to determine where the influence of the captivity began upon both royal and popular forms—yet most certain is it that many of the corrupt forms now found in Daniel were not first created by the Babylonian captivity. They were already naturalized in the vernacular dialect, and insensibly affected the purity of Hebrew writing.

The Hebrew words adduced by Bertholdt and his followers, in proof of the lateness of the composition of the Book of Daniel, are such as follow:—בוה, xi. 24, 33, 'prey.' מדע, i. 4. 17, 'knowledge.' כתב, x. 21, 'the writing,' in the sense of 'Scripture.' מרעיד, x. 11, 'trembling.' פרתמים, i. 3, 'nobles.' אפדנו, xi. 45, 'palace.' אשף, i. 20; ii. 2, 'enchanter.' גילכם, i. 10, 'generation.' זרעים, i. 12. זרענים (id. 16), 'pulse.' מכמנים, xi. 43, treasures.' התמיד, without עולת or מנחת, viii. 11—13; xi. 31; xii. 11, 'daily sacrifice.' החניף, xi. 32, 'seduce to apostasy.' נחתך, ix. 24, 'decreed.' רשם, x. 21, 'write down' or 'record.' פלמני, viii. 13, 'such

[1] Renan, *l. c.*

an one. קדשים, viii. 24, 'saints,' applied to the Jews. But of these words it may be remarked that there are none which it was absolutely necessary for a later writer to use to the exclusion of all others. Many of them, if absent from the pages of those writers in whom it is assumed that they ought to be found, are absent simply from difference of subject and the non-necessity of introducing them. Bertholdt, again, has demanded proofs of similarity in expression with Ezekiel, Daniel's alleged contemporary, and such proofs are easily obtained. Keil and others have adduced the following *int. al.* בן־אדם, viii. 17, 'Son of Man,' frequent in Ezekiel. זהר, xii. 3, 'brightness,' Ezek. viii. 2. חיב, i. 10, 'to cause to forfeit' (*ἅπ.* λεγ.), compare the substantive, חוב (*ἅπ.* λεγ.), Ezek. xviii. 7. כתב for ספר, 'writing' for 'book' (scripture, ix. 2), x. 21; so Ezek. xiii. 9. לבוש בדים, x. 5, 'clothed in linen,' so Ezek. ix. 2, 3. פתבג, i. 5, 'the king's meat;' comp. בג, Ezek. xxv. 7. הצבי, 'the land of Israel,' ix. 9; xi. 16, 41, so Ezek. xx. 6, 15; Jer. iii. 19. קלל, x. 6, 'polished,' Ezek. i. 7. It must not however be supposed that much weight is attached to instances culled here and there from the pages of two writers to prove their linguistic similarity[1] or dissimilarity. Such instances are valuable in their way; but it would be in the last degree precarious to rest the authenticity or spuriousness of a book upon them. They may assist in forming a conclusion, but the true grounds of reaching that conclusion must rest upon a freer and wider apprehension of the changes of language[2]. In all languages there is a gradual tendency to softer and more harmonious forms: the rougher edges are rounded off; harsh consonants are replaced by more liquid letters, or altogether omitted. This is a recognized principle in explaining the transition from Latin to Italian, or from Sanscrit to Pali. And in its

[1] Delitzsch (Herz. *R.-E.* Art. 'Daniel'), p. 274, points out that Daniel and Habakkuk have very interesting resemblances both in diction and prophecy.

[2] Renan, *op. cit.* pp. 426,7.

degree it is true of the Semitic languages. The Hebrew of the captivity has softer forms than the ancient Hebrew. Biblical and later Chaldee present the same language in successive stages of enfeebled articulation[1]. The stronger sibilant letters give place to the softer; צ becomes שׂ or ז; צחק becomes שחק or זחק; צעק becomes זעק, עלין becomes עלז. And so with the gutturals; the stronger is replaced by the softer; המון becomes אמון, בעל becomes באל, and that in its turn בל, the Babylonian form of 'Baal.' These as the weakest parts of speech are changed or disappear the quickest[2]. And these are precisely the kind of peculiarities observable in the Book of Daniel and in the writings of his age. His Hebrew is impure in comparison with that of the golden or even silver ages of the language; but it betokens the closest affinity to those writings nearest the age of the assumed writer[3]; at the same time that it differs from them by its own peculiarities and anomalies. Its Hebrew is the Hebrew of the captivity, as also its Chaldee is the Chaldee of the captivity, the point to be discussed next.

4. *Nature of the Chaldee.*

'Nobody,' says Bunsen[4], 'will maintain at the present day that the Chaldee of the decree of Nebuchadnezzar in the Book of Daniel is the language of the official decrees of that king. The two languages differ from one another much more than ancient and modern Greek.' And with this opinion[5] scholars are generally agreed, especially perhaps as regards the illustration. For both the language of

[1] Dietrich, *De Sermonis Chaldaici Proprietate* (Leipz. 1839), pp. 18–27.

[2] Renan, *l. c.* These are characteristics of the Nabatean (Quatrem. pp. 145, 148, vid. note, p. 93), and of the Mendaite dialects (Renan, pp. 248, 255).

[3] So Hävernick (Kitto's *Encyclop.* Art. 'Daniel') and Westcott (Art. cit.).

[4] *Outlines of the Philosophy of Universal History*, Vol. I. pp. 217–19.

[5] Oppert, *Éléments de la Gram. Assyrienne*, p. 2 (Par. 1860. Extracted from the *Journal Asiatique*). It is of course a doubtful point in what languages

the decree as Daniel gives it, and that of the official decrees of the day were sisters of the same branch of the Semitic family of languages—the Aramaic—that branch which included Syria, Mesopotamia, and Babylonia[1]. The mistake or confusion that has generally existed upon this point, has been mainly owing to the ambiguity attaching itself to the use of the word 'Chaldee.' A few words of explanation on this point may not therefore be out of place. Aramaic is known to us chiefly in two dialects, the Syriac and the Chaldee (or the west and east Aramaic)[2], and the latter is the name given to the language which became current among the Jews during and after the captivity[3]. From the sixth century B.C. the majority of the people of Assyria spoke Aramaic[4]. This language represented in fact the range of the Assyrian conquests. It was the language understood and spoken by the Assyrian nobles sent by Sennacherib to Hezekiah (2 Kings xviii. 26, Isai. xxxvi. 11). In the course of little more than a century from that time ensued the struggle, so often since repeated, between the Aryan and Semitic races; and the kingdom of the effeminate Assyrians and Babylonians succumbed beneath the vigorous inroads of an Iranian people[5]. The Semitic

these decrees were issued. Possibly in Casdee, but certainly also in Babylonian-Aramaic, or otherwise they would have been unintelligible to ninety-nine hundredths of the people. Daniel reproduces the form in which they were issued to his own among all the 'nations, tongues, and languages.' Compare Quatrem. pp. 169–72.

[1] Winer, *Gramm. d. Bibl. u. Targ. Chaldaismus*, p. 6 (2nd ed. 1842). Max Muller, *Lectt. on the Science of Language*, p. 281 (3rd ed. 1862). Bleek, *Einl.* p. 45.

[2] Bleek (*op. cit.* 45, 55) would call the West-Aram., 'Christlich-Aram.' and the East-Aram., 'Jüdisch-Aram.'

[3] Winer (*op. cit.* p. 5) would alter the so-called 'Chaldee' to 'Babylonian;' Herzfeld (*Gesch.* II. 46, 1857) prefers the name 'Hebrew-Aramaic.'

[4] Renan, *Hist. d. langues Sémitiques*, p. 213 seq. In a note Renan observes that the name Aram was almost unknown to the Greeks and Romans. About the Seleucidian era, the name gave place to Syria (a shorter form of the name Assyria), a vague appellation used by the Greeks to express the whole of Asia Minor. 'Assyria' before the rise of Christianity was the usual designation for Babylonia (Quatrem. p. 126).

[5] Renan, *Id.* Spiegel, *Gramm. d. Huzvâreschsprache*, pp. 4, 5.

Aramæans became subject to the rule of the Indo-Germanic Medes and Persians, but Semitic influence and Semitic education sensibly affected the new conquerors. Of the Medes it can only be conjectured that they imitated the example of the Semite; but of the Persian it is undoubted. The peculiar wall-pictures of Persepolis manifestly betoken an Assyro-Babylonian influence; and the inscriptions of their kings are made after the pattern of the Assyrian[1]. The Aramaic language above all preserved its importance. In the western provinces of the Achæmenian empire the language of the decrees and of official correspondence remained Aramaic; and these were probably accompanied by a translation for the use of the Persian 'house of the rolls' (Ezra vi. 1, 7, vii. 12)[2]. It is singular that all that is known of the ancient Aramaic idiom has been transmitted to us by the Jews and the Christians of Syria, and of this idiom the most consecutive fragments are the Chaldee portions of Daniel and Ezra. In this latter we have specimens of the Aramaic language contemporaneous with the cuneiform inscriptions of Darius Hystaspes, Xerxes and Artaxerxes Longimanus (i.e. of end of sixth and beginning of fifth century B.C.)[3]. In the former we have specimens contemporaneous with the age of Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar[4]. It must always remain a disputed point whether the Aramaic language—such as the Jews have transmitted it to us—is to be considered perfectly identical with the idiom spoken in Aramæa, or as a corrupted dialect and full of Hebraisms. It was a principle enunciated by Movers[5] that the Aramaisms of a Hebrew Book prove it either a very recent or a very ancient composition. But this principle requires to be used with great

[1] Spiegel, *l. c.*

[2] Layard found a chamber in the ruins of the palace Koyunjik containing a signet and relics of state papers (*Nin.* I. 158, 159). Compare the *βασιλικαὶ διφθέραι* of Ctesias, and Esther ii. 23, vi. 1, xii. 4.

[3] Max Muller, *op. cit.* 282. Renan, p. 242. Qualify this by note, p. 93.

[4] Keil, *Einl.* p. 114 seq. On the 'Babylonian' Speech.

[5] *Zeitschrift f. Phil. u. Kath. Theol.* XVI. 157 (Bonn), quoted in Renan, p. 105.

precaution. As regards the point in dispute, it is probable that the truth lies between these extremes. It may very fairly be conjectured that the Jews in writing Aramaic would impart to it many orthographical peculiarities, and introduce forms purely Hebraic which are not found in any Aramaic dialect. Hence it is that Biblical Chaldee and Syriac—the branches of the Aramaic which have come down to us—differ very slightly; and this fact is of great importance in proving that Biblical Chaldee represents not so much the language of Babylonia as that of Syria[1]. It is a fact now generally conceded that the language—'Chaldee' as it is called—which replaced Hebrew, cannot be considered the sole work of the captivity. A period of some fifty to sixty years does not so completely alter the idiom of a people; and in the present case it does not explain how it is that the alterations have a character so allied to Syriac.

As before observed, a cause productive of linguistic changes in the dialect of Palestine existed in the proximity of Syriac or Aramaic speaking tribes, and this must have produced some effects prior to the captivity of Babylon. It is difficult at this distance of time, and with our scanty materials next to impossible, to determine the points of contact and separation between Hebrew and Aramaic. Languages are transformed by insensible degrees; and possibly the safest and most critical mode of deciding the point is to consider these two languages not so much distinct languages as two ages of the same language[2]. Starting from this assumption the historical sketch of the change may be briefly drawn out. In the time of Hezekiah (2 Kings xviii), 120 years before the captivity, the 'Jews' language' and the 'Syriac' or Aramaic (יהודית and ארמית), were still perfectly distinct: and the latter was intelligible

[1] Fürst, *Lehrgeb. d. Aram. Idiome*, p. 11 seq. Winer, *Gramm.* p. 3 seq. Renan, p. 144 seq. This might be expected from the scanty remains of the former.

[2] Renan, p. 149. 'C'est comme si l'on demandait en quelle année finit le Latin et commence le Français.'

only to the educated men of the Jewish court, the 'recorder' and the 'scribe' and the 'head of the king's household' (vv. 18, 26). But gradually the two nations became more familiarised with each other's language: the one interpenetrated and modified the other as the Norman did the Saxon; but, unlike the illustration where the conquered gained the day over the conqueror—the sudden transportation to Babylon of the most enlightened portion of Israel hastened a further transformation of the language. The previous tendency to Aramaicise Hebrew received an extraordinary impetus by this captivity. It precipitated a dialectical result usually attained by slow and perceptible modes. By the time of the Return the language of Palestine was completely corrupted. Both in Palestine and out of Palestine this corruption is distinctly traceable. To Nehemiah it was one of the sorest trials possible, to find the 'Jews' language' of his co-religionists in Judea defaced if not lost by commixture with the 'speech of Ashdod,' and the 'language' of foreigners (Neh. xiii. 24). In comparison with the 'patois' they found in Palestine, the language spoken by Ezra, Nehemiah, and the aristocracy of the Return, might still deserve the name of the 'Jews' language.' It was still Hebrew, but it was not the Hebrew of the classical age, it was not even that current at Jerusalem in the time of Hezekiah. The Thorah by this time required a gloss (Neh. viii. 7, 9)[1]. Pure Hebrew was intelligible probably to many, but it was spoken by none. The 'Chaldee' fragments in Daniel and Ezra are certain proofs of the importance the Aramaic idiom had acquired among the Jews from the first moments of Median and Persian supremacy. In spite of the efforts of purists, the Hebrew language went on degenerating till its physiognomy became little else but Aramaic. If we turn back now from this general consideration of the change, to that scene where most of this change was worked out; it is impossible to

[1] Renan, p. 148. This at least may be conceded to this disputed passage.

avoid the feeling that at Babylon the Jews were brought into contact with a very peculiar commixture of languages[1]. The Book of Daniel (i. 4), implies that there was a distinction between the language of the Casdim and that popular language of Babylon which was undoubtedly Semitic[2]. The study of the former language was considered a privilege, and it was conducted under the roof of the king's palace. Biblical Chaldee was certainly not the language of these Casdim[3]. Their language was that of the court; their king Nebuchadnezzar was a Casdee (Ezra v. 12). It was not Semitic but Aryan[4]. The names given to Daniel and his companions (i. 7), Belteshazzar, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, have nothing Semitic in them; they are as much Iranian as those of Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar[5], &c. Had the two, the court language and the popular language, been synonymous, Daniel would not have required any special training in the former: it would have been a language too closely resembling that whose gradual corruptions had already tainted the pure Hebrew of his forefathers. But this court language—this לשון כשדים—so new to him. What was it? It was a language originally springing from an Armenian source, suddenly making itself heard in the councils of the east after fifteen centuries of silence[6]. Probably there were found in it many divergences from its primeval stock; and could it be recovered it would illustrate the geographical wanderings of the people which spoke it. But between the time when the Casd (Gen. xxii. 22) is first of all found an inhabitant of Assyria, and the time when

[1] Quatremère, *Mém. Géogr. sur la Babylonie*, p. 21. In Babylon there were languages spoken by the inhabitants of one quarter which were unintelligible to the inhabitants of another. Renan, p. 58. [2] Renan, p. 70.

[3] Oppert, *Gramm. Assyrienne*, p. 2. Renan, p. 221. Bunsen, 193. Rawlinson, Art. 'Chaldæans' (Smith's *Bibl. Dict.*).

[4] Renan, p. 67. This is of course only one view. That of Rawlinson and others will be considered further on. Gregory Bar-Hebræus considered Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, Nabatean (Quatrem. p. 141).

[5] Winer, *Gramm.* p. 7. Zündel, p. 24. Keil, p. 114, qualifies this in some slight degree as to the names. [6] Renan, pp. 60, 64 seq.

Scripture commemorates his return to his old haunts[1], all is blank. His language would perhaps be as motley in character as that of the Kurd, his modern representative[2]. Of the popular language of Babylonia, that which most of all affected the Jews of the captivity, there is at present but very little known. It was unquestionably Semitic, probably Aramaic, the original language of the great kingdoms of Babylon and Nineveh. It was that language which Abraham spoke when he went forth from 'Ur of the Chaldees' (Gen. xi. 31). Its traces are discovered in the name of the stone-heap set up by Laban as a witness between him and Jacob. The Patriarch gave to it its Hebrew name (גלעד); the inhabitant of Haran an Aramaic compound (יגר שהדותא, Gen. xxxi. 47)[3]: and its relics are still to be found in the cuneiform inscriptions of Nineveh and Babylon. No one doubts now the Semitic character of these inscriptions, and from them, if anywhere, will eventually be learnt the idioms of that language which made Babylonian literature so celebrated[4].

The term 'Chaldee' then, as applied to Biblical passages, must be understood in the sense of Aramaic. The great scene of its developement was Babylon, and that by contact with the popular, not with the court language. We have perhaps no right to suppose that Biblical Chaldee was so pure as that spoken by the Semitic Babylonians[5]; and till the cuneiform and other writings have been more copiously analysed, there are no means of drawing out the lines of demarcation between that spoken by the Jew and the Babylonian respectively. As Biblical Chaldee at present stands, its analogy is more closely in accordance with the

[1] Isai. xxiii. 13; xli. 1, 5; xlviii. 14, 20. Jerem. xxi. 4; xxii. 25; xxv. 12. Ezek. xxiii. 23.

[2] This is the opinion of most modern philologists. Renan, p. 67. The historical questions concerning these Chaldæans are considered, p. 116, seq.

[3] Spiegel, *Gramm.* p. 3. Max Muller, *Lectt.* 283.

[4] Max Muller, *Id.* Spiegel, p. 3. Comp. Gen. x. 8. Keil, p. 114 seq.

[5] Winer, *Gramm.* p. 7. Quatrem. p. 147.

Syriac dialect. Probably the comparative process will graduate the features possessed in common by the Semitic branches[1].

I append but one remark to this rather lengthy section. It has been proved correct already as regards the Hebrew, and the proof of the rest will occupy the next few pages. But does not an inspection of the Linguistic phenomena of the book of Daniel furnish even thus far a profound and yet undesigned support to that opinion which believes the writer to have been trained as Daniel is described to have been trained? His school was Babylon. Around him were 'nations, languages, and tongues,' with three of these at least he was familiar, Hebrew, Aramaic, and the language of the Casdim; and by all three is the style of his writing affected. Pure Hebrew, corrupt Hebrew, pure Persian, corrupt Persian, pure Aramaic, corrupt Aramaic, jostle one against the other in sentence after sentence, and yet without effort. Such naturalness of style combined with such discordant elements of composition was certainly possible to such a man only as the book of Daniel represents its alleged writer to have been.

Bunsen, after making the statement before mentioned, proceeds to state that, 'neither can it be maintained that the Chaldee of Daniel is as ancient as that found in Ezra[2];' and he rests his assertion upon his belief (founded on philological grounds) that the Aramaic of Daniel approaches much more closely the style of the Targums than that of Ezra. He gives instances in support of his opinion which will be noticed in the course of the argument created by his assertion. The question here raised turns upon the

[1] Bunsen, *Outlines*, Vol. I. 214 seq., has made one or two steps in the elucidation of this point. Oppert's *Gramm. Assyr.*;—the articles on 'Assyrian Verbs' by Dr Hincks (*J. S. L.* from 1855);—scattered papers by Rawlinson, Norris, &c. in the *Asiatic Journal*, by French writers in *Journ. Asiatique*, and by German in the *Zeitschr. für Deutsch. Morgeländ. Gesellschaft*;—the chapter on language in Rawlinson's *Five Great Monarchies*, I. 77 seq., and reff., furnish further means of extending researches in this particular direction.

[2] *Outlines*, p. 217.

nature of Biblical Aramaic in general, and of Daniel's in particular. It has been already stated that it must be left an unsolved problem to determine, how soon after the return from the captivity Hebrew was superseded by Aramaic[1]. But certainly by the time of the Maccabees the elder language had completely passed away from the common speech. Hebrew was still written; its characters were still to be found on the current coinage[2], but it had ceased to be the vernacular tongue. The rule of the Seleucids and the influence of an Aramaic-speaking people silently but effectively brought about this result. Now this fact is in itself a very strong argument against those who would date the Book of Daniel from the Maccabæan era. The writer himself might understand the Hebrew sections of his work; but that language would be nothing else but an obstacle to those hearers or readers whose diction was Aramaic. Some of the most important chapters of the book, those destined to influence and encourage the men of his day, would be comparatively sealed to them. But the Aramaic or Chaldee portion of the book is of itself conclusive against a Maccabæan date. Bunsen's supposition that it is more modern than that of Ezra is not only capable of disproof, but also the few peculiarities which separate the Aramaic of Daniel from the rest of Biblical Chaldee are entirely insufficient to transfer it to so modern a date as 169 B.C. The Aramaic of the Maccabæan age must have been capable of leaving a more marked impression of its peculiarities than that exhibited in our book. Daniel's Aramaic would have been much more dissimilar than it is to the Aramaic of Ezra and Jeremiah; it would have furnished many more points of connection with the Chaldee of the Targums[3] than those adduced by

[1] Vid. in addition to authorities cited on pp. 68, 69, Gesenius, *Gesch. d. Hebr. Spr.* § 13, p. 44; Herzfeld, *Gesch.* II. 44, 59 (1857); Winer, *R. W. B.* II. 501.

[2] Renan, *op. cit.* 147, as against Fürst, *Lehrgeb. d. Aram. Idiome*, pp. 3, 11 seq.

[3] The earliest specimens of the Targums were committed to writing about

Bunsen and the critics he has followed. Bleek, for his part, says nothing about the agreement or disagreement of Daniel and Ezra. He rests the argument he advances here upon the larger grounds that, the incorrect Aramaic of the Book of Daniel could not have been written by one brought up and educated in Babylon, and living in constant intercourse with the learned and noble of the court of Nebuchadnezzar. I have in part explained this; and it may be sufficient to observe here in addition, that any such opinion as to its incorrectness, grammatical or dialectical, must depend upon the standard by which it is judged; and as is well known, standards of the same age as the Biblical Chaldee are either altogether wanting, or but too fragmentary in character to admit of so decisive a conclusion. I believe it to be a much fairer criticism at once to acknowledge that the Aramaic of Daniel is not that of the Chaldæans proper, but a corrupt and popular dialect[1]; and with the acknowledgment to join the opinion that critically it is not to be expected, morally it is not just to demand that the idioms of the Babylonian court should find absolute reproduction in the writings of one who lived in it and yet was separated from it by every patriotic feeling. Michaelis though he questioned the authenticity of these Aramaic chapters, yet affirmed upon purely linguistic grounds that the book itself was not a late compilation.

The principal points of difference between the Aramaic or Chaldee of the Bible and that of the Targums, have been pointed out in more or less detail by Hengstenberg[2], Keil[3] and others. Delitzsch[4], a great Talmudical authority,

the Christian era; or as Bunsen expresses it, they were contemporaneous with Gamaliel and the Apostles. The Targum of Onkelos on the Pentateuch was the oldest; and next to it the Targum of Jonathan on the Prophets. (Winer, *Gramm. d. Chald.* pp. 1, 2. Herzfeld disputes this order, *Gesch.* II. 61 seq. (1857), but the date of the first Targum may be taken approximately as Bunsen assumes it).

[1] Westcott, Art. cit. Hävernick. Kitto's *Bibl. Cyclop.* Art. 'Daniel.'

[2] *Genuineness, &c.* pp. 246–51.

[3] Keil, *Einleitung*, § 133.

[4] Herzog, *R.-E.* Art. 'Daniel.'

after reviewing the whole subject with the express intention of estimating the proper position of Daniel, arrives at the conclusion that the Aramaic of Daniel corresponds radically with that of Jeremiah (x. 11), and that of Ezra (iv. 8—vi. 18; vii. 12—26). He finds in this fact, a circumstantial proof of their belonging to the same age; while at the same time he finds reason to distinguish their Chaldee from that of the Targums by the presence of Hebraisms and other linguistic purisms. But this is not the only mark of distinction. Biblical Chaldee has many peculiarities which cannot be called Hebraisms; they are rather indicative of a peculiar age, and dialect of the Aramæan. Biblical Chaldee, is found for instance, to agree with the Syriac in some of the points in which it differs from the Chaldee of the Targums. But certain grammatical forms also occur which are not found either in purer Hebrew or in Syriac or in Targum, and can only be considered as peculiar to the age and circumstances under which Biblical Chaldee was written[1]. In these may perhaps be found indications of the Aramaic dialect used in Babylon, and therefore reproduced naturally in the pages of Daniel and Ezra.

It will be the object of the following pages to draw out these points[2], and to prove—

1. That Biblical Chaldee had reached during and after the captivity, that stage of developement in which it is presented to us in the Books of Daniel and Ezra.

2. That the Chaldee of Daniel, sometimes differing, sometimes coinciding with that of Ezra in peculiar forms, agrees with it in regard to those characteristics which distinguish Biblical Chaldee generally from that of the Targums.

[1] Keil (on Hävernick), *Einl.* p. 114 seq. Quatrem. p. 137 seq.

[2] In addition to the works to be cited in this section, I have been greatly indebted to an article, 'The Chaldee of Daniel and Ezra,' in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, Jan. 1861, pp. 374 seq. The two points alluded to in the text, are substantially those of the anonymous Essayist, p. 376.

The proof of the first of these points is closely connected with that of the second, and may be treated conjointly; while at the same time the indications of the influence of Babylonian Aramaic may be most conveniently inserted at that particular stage where they are seen to explain the peculiarity under consideration. Philological laws naturally demand that the Chaldee of the Targums should evince tokens of later developement than that of the Bible; and if in the scale that may be formed, Daniel is found to occupy the highest and most ancient place; if philology tends to favour the list, Daniel, Ezra and the Targums, rather than any other; then there will follow a great and very valuable addition to the many proofs of the Authenticity of the book. The first part of Bunsen's[1] assertion—that the Chaldee of Daniel forms a 'bridge between that of Ezra and that of Onkelos and the Targums, just as these last form a bridge to the language of the Talmud,' will have to be resigned, because deduced from insufficient premisses.

Bunsen[2] himself has broadly defined as twofold, the difference of the Chaldee of the Bible from that of the Targums[3]; first, in possessing a greater frequency of Hebrew formations and words: secondly, in retaining Archaisms which entirely disappear in the Targums. It may be called lexically the same, but grammatically and orthographically more ancient[4]. In drawing out the proof of the above-named points, the instances adduced may in some cases appear insufficient and insignificant; but when taken together I do not think that they can be considered either unimportant or out of proportion to the few and scanty materials from which they have to be collected.

[1] *Outlines*, p. 219.

[2] *Id.* p. 217.

[3] Instances of the Targum and Talmud-forms may generally be found in Buxtorf, *Lex. Rabb. et Chald. et Talm.* s. vv., and Winer, *Gramm. d. Chald. passim.*

[4] Winer, *Gramm. d. Chald.* p. 1.

One general characteristic of difference between the Chaldee of the Bible and the Targums is the usual absence from the former of the 'scriptio plena.' In the Bible the longer mode of writing is rarely found, in the Targums almost always. This is especially the case with the letter 'jod,' which occurs in the Aphel forms (without suffixes) of the Targums much more frequently than in Biblical Chaldee. Such forms again as זעיק, סליקו are common in the Targums; in Dan. iii. 8, 22, and in Ezra iv. 12—3, the 'scriptio defectiva' is used. The difference here from the Syriac is very marked. The form זְעֵר or זְעִיר becomes ܙܥܘܪ (or *î* into *û*). Similarly with nouns and other parts of speech. חֲנֻכַּת, Dan. iii. 2, 3, Ezra vi. 16—7, is written in Targums חֲנוּכַּת, even though followed by 'dagesh forte.' In Biblical Chaldee the shorter pronominal forms $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{דִּ}\\ \text{דְּ}\end{matrix}\right.$ *m.* $\left.\begin{matrix}\\ \text{}\end{matrix}\right\}$ *f.* are more commonly written in the Targums $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{דִּי}\\ \text{דְּאָ}\end{matrix}\right.$ *m.* $\left.\begin{matrix}\\ \text{}\end{matrix}\right\}$ *f.*. The Syriac has no form corresponding to these[1], ܕܢ standing for both; and Keil is probably right in referring them to Babylonian origin. They are peculiarly onomatopoetic[2], and yet betray their Semitic origin through their close connection with the purer זה. Such words as חֲכְמָה, Dan. v. 11, Ezra vii. 25; שָׁלְטָן, Dan. vii. 14; פֻּלְחָן, Ezra vii. 19, are written in the Targum with ו after the first radical letter.

In verbs פ״א, the א of the infinitive and future Peal is exchanged in the Targums for י before the preformatives. In Biblical Chaldee י is never inserted, and א generally retained: for instance, in the case of the verb אמר—Inf. לְמֵאמַר, Dan. ii. 9 (in Ezra v. 11, the form is לְמֵמַר)—Fut. נֵאמַר, Dan. ii. 36, Is. iii. 29, iv. 32, and Jerem. x. 11,

[1] Dietrich, *De Serm. Chald. proprietate*, p. 38. Hofm. *Gram. Syr.* p. 161.
[2] Keil, p. 116.

תאמרין. In Targum of Gen. xv. 16, Job iv. 8, &c., occurs the form ייתמין[1]. מאמר occurs as a noun in Dan. iv. 14, Ezra vi. 9. In Targum it is written מימר, Gen. iii. 8. In the case of such verbs as אתא and אזא (ל״א and פ״א), the infinitives are written in Daniel (iii. 2, 19) מתא and מזא with the א omitted, but the י usual in the Targums is not inserted. These forms, again, are not necessarily to be regarded as Hebraisms; they are rather original Aramaic forms, preserved also in this case in the Syriac[2]. The 'scriptio plena' was gradually dropped or changed. The Aleph was omitted as not quiescing suitably with the *e* sound; and its place was taken by the Jod to help the long vowel in accordance with the custom of a later age. In verbs ל״א a considerable difference is observable between the Biblical forms and those of the Targums[3]; and the peculiarity shewn cannot be regarded purely as a Hebraism. It is an Aramaism of Babylonian character, closely coincident with the Syriac form. The forms of the present and active participles, for example, are so different from those found in the Hebrew paradigms of ל״ה and ל״א, that they can only be explained satisfactorily as forms in use at the time that Daniel and Ezra wrote. Some few of the variations may, of course, be laid to the copyists, but the aggregate phenomena are best explained as characteristic of an early stage of the developement of the Aramæan. The passive participle Peal occurs once in Ezra (v. 11) בְּנָה. In Daniel there are three instances terminating in ה־, two in י־, and one in א־ (v. 25—6, comp. Syr. ܒܢܝ). None of these forms correspond to those of the Hebrew conjugations, and in their difference from the Targum-forms they shew an independence of

[1] Winer, *Gramm.* p. 57.
[2] Dietrich, *op. cit.* p. 46.
[3] Winer, p. 62.

character peculiarly their own. In the infinitive construct state the form מִגְלֵא is always used in Biblical Chaldee; seven times in Daniel, eight in Ezra. In the Targums ־ִי is the usual termination; א preceded by ־ being the sign of the infinitive absolute. The form is Aramæan; the Syriac terminal letter being also Olaph, though the terminal vowel is different (ܡܶܓ̈ܠܶܐ). A similar difference from the Targums and agreement with the Syriac is found in the future Peal. The termination א־ or ין־ is changed to י־. In Daniel א־ occurs seventeen times, in Ezra three, but the form י־ never. ה־ is found in a few exceptional instances in Daniel, but not in Ezra. Thus the form יֶעְדֶּה occurs in Dan. vii. 14, but תְּעִדְּא in vi. 9, 13, יִקְרֵה in v. 7, יִקְרָא in v. 17. The form תֶּהֱוֶה is found five times in Daniel, only once ending in א־ (vii. 23). The variation tends if anything to assimilate the Chaldee of Daniel to pure Hebrew. But it is very intelligibly explained as an Aramaism from its affinity to the Syriac. Its history has been traced[1] from an original form י־ (the Jod being still retained in Arabic), afterwards softened into ה־, the form preserved in Hebrew, and occasionally used in Aramaic at the time Daniel wrote. But a softer form still was א־; and this, in pursuance of the law of the harsher aspirate giving way to a softer, was more commonly used in the early stage of Biblical Chaldee—that of Daniel, but universally by the time of Ezra, and in the Syriac dialect. This the Jews wrote in full יא־, and then again rejected the א as in the Targums. Throughout the other conjugations the coincidence of the forms of ל״א with Syriac is perfect, and again deviating from the Targums. Biblical Chaldee and the Targums agree in ending the third person singular of the present with Jod,

[1] *J. S. L.* p. 380.

but in the future and participle Aleph is used by the former, Jod by the latter. Examples of the present tense are התמלי, Dan. iii. 19; התנבי, Ezra v. 1; היתי, Dan. v. 13; הגלי, Ezra iv. 10. These may very well have been Aramaic forms current in the time of Daniel and Ezra, and do not require to be explained as Hebraisms[1]. Instances of the future and participle are יתרמא, Dan. iii. 6; יתמחא, Ezra vi. 11; ישתנא, Dan. ii. 9; יהשנא, Ezra vi. 11; מודא, Dan. vi. 11; מהודא, ii. 23; מחא (contracted as in Syriac), v. 19. There are three exceptional terminations of the future (iii. 29, ii. 7, v. 12), and one of the participle (ii. 21) found in Daniel. א is replaced by ה, as was seen to be the case in the future Peal. The exception supports the opinion there expressed that Daniel has forms more nearly approaching pure Hebrew than Ezra; yet the frequency of the other form, that terminating in א in his book, coupled with the fact that it is the only form in Ezra and in Syriac, points to an Aramaic influence superseding the Hebrew.

Aleph inserted in the plural of the participle of the verbs ע״י is another peculiarity of Biblical Chaldee, and one common to Daniel and Ezra. דארין, Dan. ii. 38; iii. 31; דאנין, Ezra vii. 25; קאמין, Dan. iii. 3. The 'Keri' reading is in all these cases a double Jod (יי) instead of א, the Jod being doubled to denote its power as a consonant. In the Targums these forms are written with Jod, קים. In Syriac the singular participle is as the Biblical Chaldee, but in the plural or in declension it changes the Olaph into Yod, s. ܩܳܐܶܡ, pl. ܩܳܡܺܝܢ, ܩܳܡܺܝܢܳܐ.

A very marked peculiarity in Biblical Chaldee is the use of ה instead of א[2]. In the Aphel conjugations there are found to be no less than ninety-six examples of forms beginning with ה, and only three beginning with א. Of

[1] Keil, p. 116.

[2] Kirms considered this peculiar to Daniel and Ezra. Dietrich, p. 20. Winer, p. 41. *J. S. L.* p. 382.

this large number, eighty are from Daniel, as also two of the exceptions (iv. 11, iii. 1), one being in Ezra (v. 15). In the preformatives of the future and participle the ה is inserted or rejected without uniformity, even with respect to the same word. It is retained in thirty-five instances, omitted in twenty-five; and the fact that in the Hebrew scriptures there are only six examples renders it evident that such retention is not to be counted a Hebraism. It would have been remarkable if Daniel and Ezra, when writing Aramaic, had employed as a Hebraism a form which they never employed in writing Hebrew. The peculiarity is best explained by its being common in Aramaic at the time they wrote. The occurrence of pure Hiphil forms in Dan. vii. 22, v. 20, hardly permits the conclusion[1] that the use of the ה in any part of the causative conjugation was no Hebraism at all; but the singularity of the phenomenon is not the less marked, especially as it is different from the current Syriac form. With very few exceptions the Syriac replaces the strong aspirant He by the softer Olaph[2]. Hophal is found only once in Ezra (iv. 15), but frequently in Daniel (ii. 10, iv. 33, v. 13, vii. 11, &c.). It has been called a Hebraism; but it is found occasionally in the Targums[3]; and the absence from Chaldee generally of the somewhat cognate passive Pual, makes this explanation questionable; as also does the fact that while the conjugations Ith-peal, Ith-paal, and It-taphal were equally foreign to the Jews, the one was rejected and the others adopted. It is remarkable that even in Syriac the use of It-taphal is very scarce[4]; the form Ith-peal being generally employed to express the passive of Aphel. Instances of Ith-peal are common in Daniel and Ezra, and the use of Hophal may have been employed to express a conjugation which had no precise counter-

[1] *J. S. L.* p. 383. [2] Dietrich, p. 20. [3] *Id.* p. 46.

[4] Hoffmann's instances are from ecclesiastical writers of a modern date, and the Philoxenian version of S. Mark xiii. 24. *Gram. Syr.* pp. 182, 3.

part in Aramaic[1]. The peculiarity is one very natural in the transition-age of a language; it is a sign of independence, a slight relic of the protest against the infusion of foreign elements; and its frequency in the Book of Daniel is a means of approximating it to the generally accepted date.

The more usual termination of nouns in the emphatic state in Biblical Chaldee is א, but in both Daniel and Ezra there are eleven examples of the termination ה. The variations connected with this point are very remarkable. The two terminal letters א and ה are occasionally found in the same verse; and even the same word, not only when employed by different writers, but also when used by the same author, sometimes terminates its emphatic state with one letter, sometimes with the other. Some of these variations may be due to errors of transcription or of punctuation, but these causes do not explain the whole phenomenon; neither is it explained upon the theory of Hebraisms, for this theory leaves untouched the question why א is the more frequent both in Daniel and Ezra. No clue is thus afforded to that singular practice noticeable for instance in Ezra (v. 14, vi. 5, vii. 18) of writing דהבה and כספא in the same verse. The interchange is without doubt an orthographical peculiarity[2]; but it is natural to regard it as having originated in the time of Daniel and Ezra. The letter ה again, as used in Biblical Chaldee for a feminine termination, is a distinguishing feature separating it from the Chaldee of the Targums. In these latter writings ה is only used when preceded by א. Fifty-eight instances of this use of ה are found in Daniel, consisting of nouns, participles (fem. part. always), and adjectives; but only seven in Ezra, four of which he always writes with א[3]. There have been many explanations of this, but none seem to meet all the exi-

[1] Instances of other passive forms which have fallen out of use are given in *J. S. L.* p. 384.

[2] Renan, *Hist. d. Langues Sém.* p. 220. Winer, p. 2.

[3] *J. S. L.* p. 386.

gencies of the case. The most natural is also the most probable[1]. The original feminine termination for all verbs, participles, substantives and adjectives in the Semitic languages was ת. In *verbs*, this letter has been always retained in Arabic, Æthiopic, Syriac and Chaldee, but in Hebrew it has been softened into ה, the original ת being retained before suffixes. In the case of participles, *nouns*, and *adjectives*, the variation found in Arabic and Æthiopic throws the greatest light on that of the Biblical Chaldee. In the first of these languages we have in some cases both ה (pronounced ת) and א; in the latter there are frequent cases of feminine substantives which have â annexed to the final consonant, no vowel letter being used. In Hebrew, as before, ת is mostly softened into ה, the original form being restored in the construct state and before suffixes. But in Syriac and Targum-Chaldee ת has disappeared in the absolute state, with a few exceptions, and the terminations employed are אָ וְ יְ: of these, א is a substitute; with the others ת has been dropped. In Biblical Chaldee א was not always substituted; on the contrary, the stronger ה was employed when preceded by א, and, at the time that Daniel wrote, always used in participles and verbal nouns; generally in adjectives and frequently in substantives. This difference between the Chaldee of the Bible and of the Targum is very interesting; and the difference between Daniel and Ezra, less marked but still observable, points out a nearer approximation to pure Hebrew on the part of the former. With reference again to these same terminations א and ה; the form דנה is frequent as a pronoun and as an adverb in Daniel and Ezra. In the Targums the form דנא is sometimes used, but more frequent still is דין, which never occurs in Biblical Chaldee.

Daniel and Ezra sometimes use Jod in cases where it is not found in the corresponding forms of the Targums.

[1] *Id.* p. 387.

Thus in these last the emphatic plural of nouns in יא- is of the form קדמאי; in Biblical Chald. קדמיא (as in the Syriac ܩܕܡܝܐ). Daniel (ii. 5, iii. 2, 8, vii. 24) and Ezra (iv. 9, 12—3, v. 1, vi. 7) agree together here in differing from the Targums. They probably exhibit what was the regular form at the time. A Babylonian form may perhaps be found in the form אבי (Dan. v. 13); the usual Targum-form being the emphatic אבא. Daniel's form is similar to the Syriac ܐܒ.

In Biblical Chaldee די is used by Daniel and Ezra as a sign of the genitive, as a relative and as a conjunction. This is evidently a more ancient form than the ד prefixed to the succeeding word, as in the Targums. As instances of the genitive case, Dan. ii. 15, Ezra v. 16, may be compared with the Targum of 1 Sam. xvii. 14, xxv. 18; for the constructive case, Dan. vii. 10 with Gen. ii. 7.

The word לָהֲוָא, allowed by Bunsen[1] to be a remnant of the old genuine Aramaic, occurs eight times in Daniel, once with ה final, and six times in Ezra. The plural is found four times in Daniel and twice in Ezra. The form is confessedly a difficult one, but the most commonly received explanation[2] considers it not only what Bunsen allows it to be, but also a peculiarity revived and belonging to the age of Daniel and Ezra. Nothing resembling it is found in the Targums.

The Hebrew termination for the masc. plur. ים- is found once in the Aramaic portion of Ezra (iv. 13), מלכים, though the form מלכין is found four times in the same chapter; and Bunsen[3] affirmed that no traces were to be found in Daniel of so pure a Hebraism. But the forms אלפים, vii. 10, and אנשים, iv. 14, must have escaped his notice.

In the case of the pronouns, the first person is written

[1] *Outlines*, p. 218.

[2] Vid. Beer, quoted at length in Maurer, *Comment. in V. T.* II. p. 84. Winer, *Gram.* p. 67, Anmerk. 2.

[3] *Outlines*, p. 219.

אנה in Daniel frequently and also in Ezra (vii. 21), or אנא Dan. ii. 8 and Ezra vi. 12. The plural form אנחנה occurs in Ezra iv. 16; in v. 11 and Dan. iii. 16—7 the form is אנחנא. Both methods were probably in use when Biblical Chaldee was written. Of the second person the very ancient form אנתה is found in Daniel iv. 15. Of the demonstrative pronouns Bunsen[1] made the following list to shew the divergence of Daniel and Ezra, and the approximation of the former to the Targums.

		Ezra.	Daniel and Targums.
Sing.	M.	דְּךְ	דֵּן
	F.	דָּךְ	דָּא
	C.	דְּנָה	דְּנָה, (דְּכֵן)
Plur.	C.	אִלֵּךְ אִלֶּה	אִלֵּין, (אִלֵּךְ).

But there are one or two considerations which very much diminish, if they do not entirely remove, the real value of this comparison. It may be true that the forms attached to the names of Daniel and Ezra are so found in them, but with respect to the very first there is a difference connected with their usage which seems to have been forgotten. דך and דן are not quite synonymous. The latter corresponds to 'ille' (Germ. *jener*), the former to 'iste' (Germ. *dieser*). Supposing that the fragments of two Latin writers had come down to us in the same way that Biblical Chaldee has done; if the one used 'iste' and the other 'ille,' would it therefore follow that either was unacquainted with the form he had not used? These shorter forms, again, דך and דן, both point at least to contemporaneous orthography. The Targums use[2] far more often the full forms of דין (Jer. xxvi. 9), and דֵּיכִי (Gen. xxiv. 65), דִּיכִי (Job ix. 24). דכן and אלך Bunsen allows to occur in Daniel, but never in the Targums. It is difficult, after this concession, to understand why he tabulates them together: the brackets would lead one to suppose

[1] *Outlines*, p. 219. [2] Keil, p. 116.

an unusual form, not one altogether wanting. אלה Bunsen singles out as a pure Hebraism found in Ezra, but not in Daniel. Winer would seem to consider it not so much a pure Hebraism as a peculiarity of Biblical Chaldee. He refers for a parallel to the well-known instance of Jer. x. 11. Of the plural forms of the personal pronouns Bunsen[1] remarks that

2nd pers. pl. לכום } found in Ezra are changed { לכון
3rd ..... להום } in Daniel to { להון

as they are in the Targums; but Dietrich[2] shews that while the first-named forms for suffixes are most commonly found in Ezra, they are not absent from Daniel, and they are frequently to be met with in the Targum of Jonathan. In the suffixes of nouns and pronouns the 3rd masc. sing. ה־, is twice written א־ in Daniel (iv. 15—6, v. 8); but how different this is from the Targums may be seen from their common forms והי־ and יה־. Feminine plural nouns taking suffixes adopt the forms of the singular suffixes; Dan. v. 2, Ezra iv. 17, and so the Targums and Syriac. Biblical Chaldee seems to stand in this particular point as a medium of connection between Hebrew and Syriac[3]. In words retaining the letter Nun instead of supplying its place by Dagesh Forte there appears to be considerable variation throughout Chaldee generally[4]. In Daniel and Ezra the older and uncontracted forms are the more common; and Daniel at any rate does not approach the contracted forms of the Targums more closely than Ezra. In the verb ידע, the formation of the future is conducted as in the case of a verb פ״ן; e.g. Dan. ii. 9, 30, iv. 14, 22—3, 29, Ezra iv. 15. In Dan. ii. 21 the noun מנדעא is found. It is not without parallel in the Targums; and forms of the verb of a similar character are found in Ruth iv. 4 and Ps. ix. 21. But generally in regard to the use of Nun, Daniel and Ezra employ forms occurring only

[1] *Outlines*, p. 219. [2] p. 37. [3] Winer, p. 28.

[4] This peculiarity recurs frequently in the Nabatean (Quatrem. p. 148) and Mendaite (Quatr. p. 149; Renan, p. 256) families.

rarely and exceptionally in the Targums. There are a few other points of agreement between the Chaldee of Daniel and Ezra: such as, the use of 'patach furtive,' Dan. v. 24, Ezra vii. 14; dual forms[1], Ezra vi. 17, Dan. ii. 34, &c.; and segholate forms for nouns—upon which no great stress can be laid. The conditions necessary to shew their external coincidence require the assistance of the points; and these were probably not added for a thousand years after the date of Biblical Chaldee. It is however quite possible that oral pronunciation and intonation would make these characteristics intelligible from the very first.

From these remarks it will be seen that Biblical Chaldee is marked by many peculiarities which denote an early stage in the development of the language. Some of these peculiarities are found more or less repeated in Syriac, others would seem to have perished with the gradual corruption of the language; but as they appear in the Books of Daniel and Ezra, they are very far removed from the idiom of the Targums[2]. Such Targum-formations as the preformative Mem of the Infin. Pael, Ith-peal, and Ith-paal; the use of Nith- for Yith- in the third person future of passive conjugations[3]; and the contracted forms of the numerals are never found in the Aramaic sections of Daniel or Ezra; if they are absent from the one, they are equally so from the other. And it will also have been observed that the agreement of the two great writers in Biblical Chaldee has not been so complete as to deprive each of his own independence of style, orthography, and linguistic usages. Daniel, for instance, writes the form גדבַרין (iii. 2, 3), Ezra, גזבַר (i. 8, vii. 21), using a more sibilant form[4]; but both agree later on in writing דהבה for זהב. The form נולי in Dan. (ii. 5, iii. 29) becomes נולו in Ezra vi. 11. Sometimes the one is found approximating to Hebrew more closely than

[1] Renan, p. 425, note. Winer, p. 3. Dietrich, p. 33.

[2] For some special Targum peculiarities, v. Winer, p. 2. [3] Winer, p. 38.

[4] On the occasional preference of ד to ז, v. Dietrich, p. 27; Winer, p. 4.

the other. In Ezra this is an indication of the determined effort he made to purify the corrupted forms of the vernacular. Hence also the more correct forms of the pronouns found in his writings. He began his reforms in the most frequently used phraseology of his people. In Daniel, the approximations are such as to point out a man living nearer to the pure age of Hebrew. He used forms current in his day, and these often betray undesigned evidences of that transitional state marking the passing of one dialectical form into another. The similarity and dissimilarity therefore observable here are very valuable. They prove the independence of the writers, and also exhibit the influence which one common dialect had upon both. The Book of Daniel thus becomes philologically, what canonical and historical arguments attest it to be, a composition of that date assigned to it in Scripture. Philology is opposed to those who make Daniel a mythical personage, and carry the date of the Pseudo-Daniel to the age of Antiochus Epiphanes. It is contrary to all philological laws,—it is contrary to the evident testimony of the Targum, that a book written in the Maccabæan era should not betray a more corrupt dialect than that exhibited in the canonical Book of Daniel. The internal deductions as to its real date derived from philological criticism are too strong to be set aside to suit an hypothesis or to favour a foregone conclusion.

5. *Persian Words.*

In the Book of Daniel there are several words which are clearly to be explained by reference to Aryan and not Semitic roots. Their presence is of extreme value as pointing to a period when Oriental—Babylonian, Median, and Persian,—and not Greek, supremacy exercised a special influence over the language. Delitzsch[1], in enume-

[1] Herzog, *R.-E.* Art. 'Daniel,' p. 274. Zündel, p. 247. Haug, *Erklärung d. Persischer Wörter d. A. T.* (in Ewald's *Jahrb. d. Bibl. Wissenchaft*, pp. 151 sq. Gött. 1853).

rating them, points out how they separate the Book of Daniel from the Maccabæan era, and testify to its composition in the time of the captivity. Of the seven to nine words found in Daniel, three are also found in Ezra, two in Esther, and one only in the Targums. It may be of interest to set down these words, and then deduce from them the conclusion they seem naturally to offer.

Chald. form.		Dan.	Ezra.	Esther.
גדברין (Dan.) / גזברין (Ezra)	found in	iii. 2, 3.	i. 8. vii. 21.	

'treasurers.'

From the Old Persian, *gai(e)th* (Haug) or *gada, gañda* (Delitzsch); (compare the Zend, *gaza* or *ganza,* New Persian, *geng*); *gainth-bara* or *gainz-bara.* Zend, *gaza-bara.* גנז, 'a treasure,' and *bara,* 'to carry.' So גנזך, 1 Chron. xxviii. 11.

Chald. form.		Dan.	Ezra.	Esther.
א— or פתגם,	found in	iii. 16, iv. 14, &c.	iv. 17, vi. 11, &c.	i. 20.

'matter.'

Old Persian, *pati-gâna.* New Pers. *paîgan.* Pehlvi, *pedam.* This word is very frequent in Chaldee and Syriac. Its origin is probably Persian, though Eichhorn and Michaelis[1] connect it with φθέγμα.

Chald. form.		Dan.	Ezra.	Esther.
פרתמים,	found in	i. 3.		i. 3, vi. 9.

'princes.'

Pehlvi, *pardôm.* Zend, *fratĕma.* Sansc. *prathama,* the superlative of the prep. *pra,* πρῶτος, or perhaps πρότιμος[2].

Chald. form.		Dan.	Ezra.	Esther.
פחה,	found in	iii. 2, 3, 27.	v. 3, 14, vi. 7.	

'captains.'

Persian, *paik*[3].

[1] Castell, *Lex. Syr.* p. 744. Renan, *Hist. d. Langues Sémit.* p. 155. Gesenius, *Thesaurus,* s. v.

[2] Benfey, *Klschr.* p. 88. Pott. "über altpersische Eigennamen," *Zeitschrift der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.* Vol. XIII. p. 416. Renan, *l. c.*

[3] Benfey, *Monats.* p. 195.

Of words peculiar to Daniel the following are adduced by Delitzsch, Haug, and others.

אזדא, ii. 5, 8. This word is also found in the Talmudical formula אזדא פלוני לטעמיה, and is there used as in Daniel as a verb. In Persian, the corresponding word *azanda*, found in the inscriptions of Behistun and Rakschi-Rustam, has the meaning of 'knowledge,' and is used substantively. The Biblical mode of using the root is therefore slightly independent of the more purely Persian application.

אדרגזרין, iii. 2, 3, 'judges.' Persian, *daregha-çara* (Haug). The Persian word can hardly be said to be quite determined. The last part of it, *çara*, is probably connected with Sanscrit *çiras;* but *darg* or *adarg* is very obscure. Haug explains it by 'prince of the host' (Heerfürst).

דתבר, iii. 2, 3, 'counsellor.' Old Persian and Zend, *dâta-bara*. New Persian, *dâtuber* = *dâwer* for *dadwer*, 'a judge,' 'a king.'

הדם, ii. 5, iii. 29, 'piece.' Old Persian *handâma*.

מלצר, i. 11, 16, E. V. '*Melzar*.' Haug believes this to be no proper name, but a Persian equivalent for cup-bearer. The first part of the word he connects with *mel*, modern Persian, and *madhu*, Old Persian and Sanscrit (*μέθυ*, *mel*); and the latter part with the *çara* or Sanscr. *çiras:* so that the whole word would mean a kind of 'overseer of the drinking.' Keil[1] considers it synonymous with רבשקה, taking this last as the Aramaic equivalent of the Persian form. In meaning therefore Haug and he coincide.

נבזבה, ii. 6. This word is still unexplained; but Haug is disposed to find its root in the syllable בז, the נ and בה being a prefix and an affix respectively. Corresponding to בז is the Old Persian *bag'*, 'to divide,' and modern Persian *bâj*, 'a present.' Compare also the termination *βάζης* in such names as Μεγαβάζης.

סגנין, ii. 48. The origin of this word also is very ob-

[1] *Einl.* p. 114.

scure. The Iranian forms of speech furnish two roots from which the word might be derived. The old Persian *thanh* (to proclaim), used of the king; Zend, *çâh*, *çañg;* modern Persian, *sâhkten* (to order); Sanscr. *cañs;* or, Zend, *çaq*, Sanscr. *çak* (to be strong). Possibly the former is to be preferred[1]. It is found in Jeremiah and Ezekiel joined with פַּחוֹת, in Isaiah, in Ezra, and Nehemiah; its early occurrence is a strong evidence against its being considered an insertion of a Maccabæan date.

סַרְבָּלִין, iii. 21, 'hose.' The etymology of this word is also very obscure. It may refer to the covering of the head, if the word be taken as equivalent to the Zend, *çâra vâro: çâra = sara*, 'the head;' modern Persian *ser* and *sar*, and *vř*, 'to cover.' But the connection seems hardly established; the word is Persian, but its resolution cannot be firmly fixed[2].

סָרָךְ, vi. 3, 'president.' Pers. *çara*, 'head,' with the diminutive suffix ךְ, 'the little head.' This diminutive ending is found in the names Shadrach, Meshach, Nisroch, Merodach[3], &c.

פַּתְבַּג. Pers. *pati-bhaga*. Dan. i. 5, 8, 'meat,' or 'delicacies.'

These Persian words, both those found in the three writers, and those in Daniel alone, point to the prevalence of a supremacy very different to that existing in the reign of the Greek Antiochus Epiphanes. They are a very strong indication that they were written at a time far anterior to it. The only other supposition sufficient to account for their presence is, that they were inserted or appended by later scribes and copyists to give an antique appearance to the books. To this no one will agree when the impossibilities connected with it are remembered. The

[1] Different views upon this word may be seen by comparing Fürst, *Concordantiæ Hebr. et Chald.*, and Buxtorf, *Lex. Rabb.* s. vv., with Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, s. v., and Bunsen, *Outlines*, p. 217. In a Hebrew form the word also occurs in Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezra and Nehemiah.

[2] On this disputed word vid. Pott. p. 381, and reff.

[3] Keil, *Einl.* p. 114. Hoffm. *Gramm. Syr.* p. 251. Vid. n. 4, p. 70.

Jews were too watchful against surreptitious insertions of a wholesale character, ever to have permitted such a fraud. Had these not been the *ipsissima verba* of their canonical books, they would have been very soon ejected. They reminded every reader of the effects of a hateful captivity upon the language of God's chosen people, and no process would have been more gratifying to the Jew than the elimination of those silent memorials of their bondage.

The philological peculiarities of the Book of Daniel do not then, I venture to assert, support the modern date affixed to it by some writers. Hebrew, Chaldee, Persian, and Greek elements, all combine to refer it to the more ancient and traditional date. Each in its way so peculiar is yet natural in the pages of the Daniel of the Captivity. Long before he knew Hebrew well—sufficiently well, that is, to write in it—he was carried away to Babylon. There from the very first he was taught a language (לשון כשדים) differing essentially from that he spoke. Around him again was the Babylonian speech of the common people, lexically resembling his own, but impure and sounding to him a worse *patois* than what he may have heard spoken by the more northern tribes of Israel. These two languages could not fail to affect his own, almost insensibly to himself. He spoke far more habitually Casdee language, and Babylonian-Aramaic, than Hebrew. His official position brought him into contact chiefly with the oppressors of his countrymen, and not with his countrymen themselves. That he retained at all that purity of Hebrew he sometimes exhibits, was certainly due to his religious habits so early developed. He had by him the sacred books (ix. 2); he observed as far as possible seasons of prayer and retirement, and in the solitary moments spent in his chamber or upon the house-top were treasured up the words of that holy language whose purity was passing away for ever. And thus, when he proceeded to write, he was enabled to give technical and appropriate names to what he wished to describe. Instruments of music re-

ceived names such as they bore in East as well as West. The dignitaries of the court were appropriately designated; the ordinary and minor details of dress and provisions were correctly described. Contemporary occurrences and official decrees were given in the current Aramaic, in the language intelligible in its broad outlines to both Jew and Babylonian. It was only when he had to record the revelations of God, and tell his own history in the fewest possible words, that he returned to the sacred speech of Israel, and worded in that, however imperfectly, the facts, thoughts, and visions, of his eventful life.

Note (p. 59). Masoudi, an early Eastern writer, has signalised the excellent music of the Nabateans of his day; and M. Quatremère does not hesitate to trace this talent to their ancestors, the indigenous race at Babylon in the time of Daniel. (*Mém. sur les Nabatéens*, pp. 136, 146; *Mélanges, &c.*). This identification of the Nabateans and early Babylonians, first asserted by Oriental writers, is accepted by many philologists (Quatrem. pp. 105–19, 127 seq.; Larsow, *De dialect. ling. Syr. reliquiis.* p. 6 seq. Berl. 1841; Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier u. d. Ssabismus*, I. p. 703 seq. S. Petersb. 1856; Renan, p. 243); and the point is not without interest as possibly indicating explanations of the philological peculiarities of the Book of Daniel, differing from those adopted in the text. The Nabatean words preserved by Arabian writers are almost all Syriac, but among them occur Greek words (Larsow, pp. 12–3, 17). A familiar instance, and one very apposite here, is 'Gelima.' It is a word corresponding to גלם used by Ezekiel (xxvii. 24), Daniel's contemporary, to express the 'clothes,' (marg. 'foldings,' Benisch, 'wrappers,' LXX. γαλιμά) of the merchants of Haran, Sheba, and Asshur. Under its Chaldee form (גלימא), the word appears in the Targum on Esther viii. 15, and in the Talmud (Buxt. *Lex. Chald.* and Gesen. *Thesaur.* s. v.). And Larsow, noting its absence from Syriac lexicons, calls it 'sincerum vocabulum Nabathæum, ex quo Græci χλαμὺς formabant.' The occurrence of foreign words in this Aramaic dialect became more frequent as ecclesiastical Syriac prevailed. 'Nabateans' then assumed the sense of 'heathen,' and became synonymous with הגוים and Ἕλληνες, (Quatr. p. 126; Larsow, pp. 10–1). But this was at a period when Nabatean had greatly degenerated. And the steps of this linguistic degradation may be faintly traced (Larsow, p. 11 seq.; Quatr. p. 149 seq.) from the Babylonian to its last and most corrupt stage, the Mendaite, (Ren. p. 255). The purer Nabatean dialect (ܟܠܕܝܐ ܐܢܒܛܝ) was debased into a provincial form (ܐܢܒܛܝ ܟ), a 'lingua rustica,' and then into a form current among the mountaineers (ܟ ܒܕܘܝ) (Larsow, pp. 9, 22, 26). One instance of this gradual degeneracy is noticeable in the confusion of the gutturals (vid. p. 65, and reff.). It was a Nabatean peculiarity to replace ח by ה, ע by א; but in the Mendaite dialect is found a still grosser refinement; all the gutturals are

there assimilated to א. Prof. Meier has also pointed out that the Nabatean Inscriptions approximate more closely to Hebrew than to Aramaic forms in the casting off the final nun in the endings ûn, ôn, and ân, especially in proper names, a peculiarity rarely found in Aramaic, (*Zeitschr. d. D. M. G.* XVII. p. 603 seq.). Of the stage of its existence in the time of Nebuchadnezzar but few relics remain, but those are of a very valuable character, (vid. pp. 67, 70–1). At a certain epoch the name Nabatean was virtually synonymous with Semite. And as there are many evidences to prove that Babylon was from the most remote antiquity the centre of civilisation to all the East, it is probable also that there existed then a vast profane and pagan, but now lost, literature, written in a language which was no jargon, but capable of elegant and idiomatic expression. And where, it is asked, may this golden age of the Nabatean literature be so probably placed as in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, the Charlemagne of Chaldæan monarchs? Larsow approves of the opinion that the Nabateo-Chaldæan dialect did not undergo much change till the time of the Persian domination (pp. 13, 20); and it is well known that the forms and inflexions of many of the words, described in the preceding pages as Persian, are attributed by several philologists to Aramaic and Nabatean sources. Thus, Meier subdivides the first syllables of the name Nebuchadnezzar into Nabu or Nebo, the Chaldee god, and *kadr* a form reproduced in the name *Cedor*-laomer (Gen. xiv. 1), (comp. on the opposite side Scheuchzer, *Z. d. D. M. G.* XVI. 482–8). Such names as Arioch (Dan. ii. 14; Gen. xiv. 1, 9), and Nisroch, (2 Kings xix. 37), are referred to a Nabat.-Chald. origin: the former is derived from אריא a lion, called a Nabatean word by Masoudi (Quatr. p. 109); and the latter is considered a popular form of נושרא the eagle, a divinity worshipped by the Eastern Semites, both possessing in common with such other names as Shadrach, Meshach, &c. the termination ôk or âk, which is therefore not the Persian diminutive ending (vid. p. 91, and for authorities for the opinion there expressed, Gesen. *Thes.* I. p. 385, s.v. המנך), but an old Aramaic suffix (Meier, *Op. cit.* p. 682, n. 1). Upon the critical value of these explanations it may be at present premature to pass any decided opinion, and therefore I have not thought it advisable to insert them into the text. But the fresh light thrown upon the language of ancient Babylon from several new quarters must eventually confirm or alter much that is still conjectural. The peculiarities, linguistic and symbolical, of the Nabatean Inscriptions, are undergoing thorough examination by MM. Levy, Blau, Meier, Nöldeke, (*Z. d. D. M. G.*) and others. A study of the bronze tablets found in great numbers at Babylon and written in Hebrew and Estranghelo characters (Layard, *Discoveries, &c.* p. 509, Levy, *Z. d. D. M. G.* IX. p. 465 seq. Renan, pp. 73, 254–5);—the acquisition of the ipsissima verba of Prof. Chwolsohn's still promised edition of the 'Nabatean Agriculture';—and a thorough sifting of the sparse literature of the Mendaites of Wasith and Bassora,—will probably educe their philological affinities to that one and the same ancient dialect, which the Samaritan researches of Dr Heidenheim (*Deutsche Vierteljahrschrift f. Engl.-Theol. Forschung u. s. w.* Gotha, 1861 seq.), and those of M. Neubaer in Hebr. Lexicography (*Journ. Asiat.* 1860 seq.) will assist in referring to its proper age and position in the scale of the Semite family of dialects. And from this extended examination, it may be reasonably expected, much light will be reflected upon the philology of the Book of Daniel.

CHAPTER V.

INTERNAL OBJECTIONS.

As might be expected, the advocates of the Maccabæan date of the Book of Daniel lay great stress upon arguments derived from its internal features. The objections they urge may be classed, as before suggested, under three heads. First, those founded upon the historical statements. Secondly, those deduced from the miracles. Thirdly, those based upon the minuteness of the prophetic history.

A. *Historical Inaccuracies.*

The historical portion of the book has been variously described as purely legendary, full of improbabilities, replete with dazzling miracles, and loaded with chronological errors such as are contained in no other book of the Old Testament. Its contents have been denounced as irrational, impossible, breathing throughout a spirit searching for miracles, and stamped by religious fanaticism. Such features, it is concluded, suffice to place it on a level with the Second Book of Maccabees, and to defer its origin to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes[1]. It may be

[1] De Wette, *Einl.* pp. 382, 3, Hitzig and others.

granted at once that there are difficulties connected with the historical sections of the book, for which there are as yet no decided solutions. But the book in such points cannot be fairly compared with other historical fragments of prophetic works. It was written under peculiar circumstances. Daniel was beset by foreign influences from his earliest years; his diction and chronology both evince an unconscious submission to Babylonian ideas. He wrote naturally, as he was accustomed to speak and hear others speak; consequently his style and his nomenclature are not those which would have marked a Jewish writer surrounded only by Palestinian associations. Daniel, from his position, had free access to the annals of the Assyrian and Babylonian archives, and such scholars as Niebuhr and Rawlinson have not hesitated to refer to those annals for the explanation of many obscure passages. Some of these will be brought forward in the following remarks. If they are not entirely satisfactory, it must be remembered that the stores of the treasure-house are still but imperfectly known. Cuneiform literature, the depository of so many of the secrets of the Assyrian and Persian age, is still in its infancy. It has done much towards the elucidation of Biblical history, but it is destined to do still more. Lassen, Brandis, Spiegel, Oppert, and Ménant[1] on the Continent; Rawlinson, Hincks, Layard, Norris, Bosanquet, Fox Talbot and others in England, have proved in a remarkable manner how sound and how real is the verification of Scripture by these monuments of antiquity. In the pyramidal sand-heaps of Babylon lie buried scores of these silent witnesses of the past. And from them—it is no unreasonable supposition—will eventually be supplied the explanation of those historical lacunæ still confronting the critic in many pages of Scripture:

[1] *Les Écritures Cunéiformes.* Par. 1860. In this work, one of the latest upon the subject, will be found an admirable history of cuneiform discovery from the days of Münter and Grotefend to our own.

from them, it may be confidently asserted, will be obtained a decisive solution of the difficulties still encompassing the statements of Daniel. The solution at present offered is often satisfactory through circumstantial evidence, but it is confessedly only approximate.

While however the presence of occasional difficulties is freely acknowledged, on no account can it be admitted that they are sufficient to denounce the book as the work of an ignorant forger; on no grounds, critical or otherwise, do they support the assumption of a literary license or a romantic embellishment. It is not thus that the statements of the book are to be set aside or explained. Difficulties necessitating such expedients do not occur in the Book of Daniel. But the fact that such expedients are offered and seriously pressed, is neither to be forgotten nor misunderstood. This questionable habit does not now arise from an imperfect acquaintance with the spirit and customs of the age and scenes in which Daniel lived. In the present day such a charge should not be recklessly brought against any, whether advocates or opponents of the book. It arises rather from a mistaken application of a knowledge of facts; and often, unhappily, from a perverse determination to discover traces of spuriousness. Dogmatic doubt is too frequently the parent of historic doubt. This prophecy is too clear for one; that miracle too impossible for another. The record containing them is then sifted for a purpose. It is found to contain a historical fact whose precise meaning or application is ambiguous. Immediately the ambiguity is seized. In the absence of any decided interpretation, that is adopted which meets the preconceived view. It is then very easy to protest against every other. The mind is made up to accept its own creation, and it will reject as obsolete that opinion which is backed by the support of centuries. 'Higher criticism' this is called by its upholders. And in no sphere of literature is it alleged to have

triumphed more than in history; and in no history so much as in that of the Book of Daniel. It is difficult to meet this mode of argumentation, for the simple reason, that every premiss offered in the process of refutation is not only disputed but rejected. In a narrative containing a prophecy the *vexata quæstio* is immediately raised, What is prophecy? In a record embodying a miracle, What is a miracle? and so on. And unless the answer returned tally exactly with the ninety and nine views upon those points, any further argument is not to be noticed. There is, nevertheless, one debateable ground held and allowed by both disputants in this war of opinion. Each of these narratives and records has its purely historical side, and this can be tested by the accepted laws of historical criticism. To this test the Book of Daniel must of course submit, and the result of its application proves, as I believe, the historic records, prophecies, and miracles of the book very far removed from the self-contradictions of a romancer, or the visionary consolations of a literary schemer.

As a matter of convenience the alleged historical contradictions, &c. may be considered in the order in which the chapters of the Authorised Version present them.

§ 1. *Dan.* i. 1, *and* ii. 1.

i. 1. 'In the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim king of Judah came Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon unto Jerusalem, and besieged it.' This is the opening verse of the Book of Daniel. It has been denounced as containing an inaccurate statement and chronological errors. In it, says Bleek, Nebuchadnezzar described as *king* of Babylon, takes Jerusalem in the *third* year of Jehoiakim. But from Jerem. xxv. 1, and 2 Kings xxiv. 1, it appears that Nebuchadnezzar first became king in the *fourth* year of

Jehoiakim. Moreover, from Jerem. xxxvi. 9, 29, the Chaldæan host had not come to Jerusalem by the ninth month of the *fifth* year of Jehoiakim. And lastly, it is probable, though not certain, that during the reign of Jehoiakim the Chaldæans did not capture the city nor remove the sacred vessels of the Temple; the earliest instance of such capture being more correctly referred to the time of Jehoiachin[1].

It may facilitate the solution of the whole point, if the history of the events immediately preceding the times in question be first of all presented in a connected form[2]. In the time of Josiah (father of Jehoiakim) commenced the Egyptian wars of Nabopolassar (the father of Nebuchadnezzar). Pharaoh-Necho invaded the Assyrian territory, and established the Euphrates as the boundary between his own empire and that of the king of Babylon. His passage along the sea-coast of Palestine was not undisputed. Josiah marched against him: whether urged to do so by sentiments of chivalrous fidelity to the Babylonian monarch, or by a desire of checking any invasion of his northern dominions, must remain uncertain. But in the battle which ensued at Megiddo Josiah was defeated and slain[3]; and Pharaoh, on his return from the Euphrates, placed Judah under tribute, deposing Jehoahaz, a younger son of Josiah, who had been elected to the vacant throne, and giving the crown to his elder brother Jehoiakim[4]. Pharaoh retained his conquests some three or four years only. Nabopolassar, himself unequal to the task[5], sent his son Nebuchadnezzar at the head of a large army

[1] Bleek, *Einl.* pp. 597, 8. Davidson, *Introd.* III. 180—2.

[2] Rawlinson, *Herod.* Vol. I. Essay viii. p. 509 seq. Niebuhr, *Gesch. Assurs u. Babels*, p. 374 seq. 2 Kings xxiii. 29 seq. and parallels.

[3] This was in the 18th year of Nabopolassar, the 140th of the Nabonassarian era, or B.C. 608. Nieb. *Op. cit.* pp. 365, 46.

[4] The seniority of Jehoiakim is seen from a comparison of 2 Kings xxiii. 31 and 36.

[5] Berosus the heathen historian (quoted by Josephus, *Antiq.* x. ch. xi. Vol. I. p. 391, ed. Dindorf) describes Nabopolassar as *οὐ δυνάμενος ἔτι κακοπαθεῖν.*

against the Egyptians. The two nations met at Carchemish[1], and Nebuchadnezzar was completely victorious. Pharaoh 'fled apace' (Jer. xlvi. 5); Nebuchadnezzar advanced to Jerusalem, and drove his Egyptian enemy beyond 'the river of Egypt.' Jehoiakim submitted to the son of the king of Babylon, and was permitted to retain his throne as a subject-prince (2 Kings xxiv. 1, 7)[2]. While Nebuchadnezzar was still engaged in these wars, tidings reached him of the death of his father at Babylon in the 21st year of his reign[3]. He left his army and prisoners to the care of his generals and returned to Babylon, adopting, for the sake of expedition, a less frequented route[4]. He received the crown from the Casdees, and on the subsequent arrival of his captives—'Jews, Phœnicians, Syrians, and Egyptians'—he established them in different parts of his empire. Their vast numbers gave to him that 'unbounded command of naked human strength[5]' which enabled him to cover his whole territory with works, whose gigantic remains excite admiration even at the present day.

The starting-point of the latter portion of this history is the battle of Carchemish; and the determination of its date will materially assist the removal of the supposed contradictions between Daniel and the other historical references. There appears to be no doubt that this battle was fought shortly before the death of Nabopolassar, that is, in his 21st year, and in the *third* year of Jehoia-

[1] Bleek, *Einl.* p. 473, and others, confound Carchemish with Circesium. This seems to be a mistake: v. Rawlinson, s.v. in Smith's *Bibl. Dict.*

[2] Zündel, pp. 9, 25. Tyrwhitt. Ptolemy's *Chronology of Babylonian reigns*, p. 128, Vol. XVIII. *Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc.*, and Hofmann, *70 Jahrwochen des Jerem. u. Dan.* p. 13, place the visit of Nebuchadnezzar to Jerusalem *before* the battle of Carchemish. This seems impossible for many reasons: v. Niebuhr, pp. 86, 370. Winer, *RWB, s. vv.* Ruetschi, Herzog, *R.-E.* Vol. X. 252.

[3] Berosus, *l.c.*

[4] *αὐτὸς ὁρμήσας ὀλιγοστὸς διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου παραγίνεται εἰς Βαβυλῶνα·* (Berosus). Herzfeld, I. 194 (1847).

[5] Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, III. 40.

kim[1]. According to this the *fourth* year of Jehoiakim would be the *first* of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, as stated decidedly by Jeremiah (xxv. 1). But how does this agree with Dan. i. 1, or with Jer. xlvi. 2? In the former, Nebuchadnezzar is called king in the *third* year of Jehoiakim. In the latter, as usually read, the battle of Carchemish occurred in the *fourth* year of Jehoiakim, and not in the *third*. Both points may be satisfactorily explained. (1) In Dan. i. 1, Nebuchadnezzar is called king proleptically. The language of Berosus[2] implies that Nebuchadnezzar was in a great measure associated with his father in the management of the enormous kingdom of Babylon. He was so certainly in military matters; and it is no improbable assumption that, where prudence was manifested in the most important branch of Babylonian politics, an aged and infirm king would be glad to apply the talents of its possessor to other affairs; especially when those high administrative powers were exhibited by his own son, the heir to his throne. Nebuchadnezzar was king 'de facto,' though not 'de jure,' during his father's life-time, and Daniel simply gave to him the name by which he was best known in East and West. Every one who read or heard the passage would understand it to be a current or popular mode of speaking. To many of the Jews the name of Nabopolassar was probably unknown, that of Nebuchadnezzar having completely eclipsed it[3]. (2) The explanation of Jer. xlvi. 1, 2, turns upon a question of punctuation. As the verse is generally understood it would seem that

[1] Niebuhr, p. 370—2, 'Das datum der Schlacht von Karchemis und des Todes des Nabupalussar.'

[2] In Josephus, *l. c.*

[3] Niebuhr, *Op. cit.* p. 86. Zündel, p. 20. Hitzig (*Dan.* p. 3) himself allows that no objection can be taken to this use of the title by Daniel. 'Begründet die Bereichnung als König keinen selbstständigen Einwurf; denn der Heerführer Nebucadnezar ist den Hebräern König, wo er zuerst in ihren Bereich kommt; von seinem vater scheinen sie gar keine Kenntniss zu haben.' It is strange that Bleek, and Davidson following him, should insist so strongly upon this point as a very difficult inaccuracy.

Nebuchadnezzar conquered Pharaoh-Necho in the 4th year of Jehoiakim. But this date thus understood appears wrongly understood. It is far more in accordance with Jeremiah's style to refer these notes of time not to the event to be described, but to the date of the prophet's proclamation. So here, the 'fourth year' does not refer to the battle of Carchemish—*that* took place the year before—but to the date of the warning delivered in that chapter[1]. The verse should be read, 'The word of the Lord which came to Jeremiah the prophet in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, against...the army of Pharaoh-Necho which Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon smote.' The first thirteen verses of this chapter are in fact not so much a prophecy as a song of triumph over the result of that battle. It resembles in this respect the Song of Deborah over Sisera's defeat. Jeremiah saw and rejoiced at the overthrow of Egypt, for it was to that country that Jerusalem was perpetually turning for help. Jehoiakim owed his throne to the Egyptian, and to him he was disposed to look for support against other enemies. By the battle of Carchemish the power of Egypt was crippled, and Jeremiah hailed the removal of a most powerful counter-weight to the dispassionate reception of those denunciatory prophecies he had yet to deliver. The passages in Daniel and Jer. (xlvi.) cannot therefore be considered opposed to the statement that the fourth year of Jehoiakim was the first of Nebuchadnezzar's sole reign.

Immediately after the battle of Carchemish (B.C. 605)[2] the Babylonian army advanced upon Jerusalem, and Jehoi-

[1] Niebuhr, p. 86. Westcott, Art. 'Daniel,' p. 390, note.

[2] Bleek dates this B.C. 607. In this he is supported by Hengstenberg, and Browne, *Ord. Sæclorum*, p. 165 seq. The date in the text, and the consequent date of B.C. 604 as the fourth year of Jehoiakim and the first of Nebuchadnezzar, is that of the canon of Ptolemy. It is the most usually received date, and Dr Hincks ('Verification of Sacred and Profane Chronology,' *Journ. Sacr. Lit.* 1858, p. 126 seq.) has lately shewn that it is confirmed by the Apis Steles of Egypt. Tyrwhitt, *l. c.* assents to this date for the battle, but not to the consequence.

akim submitted and became tributary (Dan. i. 1, 2 Kings xxiv. 1). But this, it is argued, was not the case. From Jer. xxxvi. 9, 29, the Chaldæans do not appear to have come to Jerusalem till the 9th month of Jehoiakim's fifth year. It is wrong therefore to identify 2 Kings xxiv. 1 with Dan. i. 1. Jehoiakim reigned in all eleven years (2 Kings xxiii. 36). The *last* three of this number were the years of his vassalage; at their expiration he rebelled, and in consequence met with his death,—whether by violence or not it is difficult to decide. This places the subjection mentioned in the first part of 2 Kings xxiv. 1 in the *eighth* year of his reign, and identifies the result of the rebellion mentioned in the second part of the same verse with 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6. Thus Nebuchadnezzar's *first* assault of Jerusalem took place at the latest in the eighth year of Jehoiakim, and not earlier than the ninth month of this fifth year (Jer. xxxvi. 9, 29)[1]. But the grounds for this view are not of a very convincing character. It may be readily allowed that the expression of 2 Kings xxiv. 1, "in his (Jehoiakim's) days, Nebuchadnezzar came up," is a very general one. It may apply to any time between the battle of Carchemish and the eighth year of Jehoiakim. Much stress must not therefore be laid upon this passage considered by itself. But while it cannot be said to maintain that Jehoiakim's submission took place immediately after the battle of Carchemish, at least the passage does not contradict that view. And there is a very curious and apparently authentic variation of this text which strongly corroborates it[2]. In the Talmudical treatise Seder Olam Rabba, it is stated that Nebuchadnezzar the year after he took Nineveh subdued Jehoiakim, who became his servant for three years. And this capture of Nineveh may be placed with great certainty in the 142nd year of the Nabonassarian era, or B.C. 606—5[3]. Evidently therefore in the

[1] Bleek, p. 475. Davidson and Baxmann follow him. [2] Niebuhr, p. 374.

[3] Tyrwhitt, p. 115 seq. adopts the date B.C. 608, but Niebuhr's arguments appear to be convincing against that date.

opinion of this traditional writing, the first appearance of Nebuchadnezzar's army before Jerusalem is not to be deferred to the fifth, but to the third year of Jehoiakim at the latest. This exactly coincides with the statement of Dan. i. 1.

But it is urged in the next place, that the prophecies of Jer. xxv. are opposed to this early appearance of the Babylonian monarch before Jerusalem. They are expressed in such a manner as almost to preclude the taking of that city even in the fourth year of Jehoiakim. From verses 5 and 6 it is maintained that up to that time—the fourth year of Jehoiakim (*v.* 1)—God had done his people no hurt; and this could not be affirmed if the deportation of captives described in Dan. i. 1, 2 had already taken place[1]. But this objection assumes too much, and mistakes the application of the verses cited. It requires that if Jehoiakim's submission had already taken place in his third year, Jeremiah ought to have mentioned it. But on the contrary, Jeremiah's silence upon that point is quite natural. There was no necessity for him to warn the king; the monarch had capitulated then without any show of active resistance. By the next year circumstances had changed. Nebuchadnezzar had been summoned back to Babylon; and there was a probability of a disputed succession such as often occurs in eastern countries between the death of a king and the enthronization of his successor. During his absence Jehoiakim, in the fourth and fifth years of his reign, began to plot rebellion. And then it was that Jeremiah spoke out. In this xxvth chapter he addressed himself to 'all the people of Judah and to all the inhabitants of Jerusalem.' He reminded them how God had warned them by his mouth from the 'thirteenth year of Josiah unto this day' (the fourth year of Jehoiakim). He repeated to them the substance of the warnings conveyed to them by other prophets besides himself. They had said, in God's behalf, "Turn ye again every

[1] Davidson, pp. 181, 2.

one from his evil way,...and go not after other gods ...and provoke me not to anger with the works of your hands; and I will do you no hurt" (*vv.* 5, 6). But all was in vain. The people neither hearkened to the one, nor to the other. They and their king thought only of deliverance from immediate oppression, and they sought it not by repentance and obedience, but by secret longings after Egyptian assistance. Jeremiah therefore now proclaimed (*v.* 9) a destruction such as Israel had never yet witnessed. Nebuchadnezzar should now come not only against the land of Judah and its inhabitants, but also against 'all the nations round about.' These should become 'an astonishment and an hissing and perpetual desolations.' 'The whole land should be a desolation and an astonishment; and these nations should serve the king of Babylon seventy years' (*vv.* 9, 10). Can it be said that this precludes submission to Nebuchadnezzar on the part of Jehoiakim the year before? Does it not rather tacitly demand it? The punishment described in Dan. i. 1, and 2 Kings xxiv. 1, was partial and limited. Here is the description of an universal vengeance. Jehoiakim was willing and anxious to forget the indignity of the previous year. He thought only of casting off the hated yoke of Nebuchadnezzar. And to check him and warn his people, Jeremiah denounced a 70 years' captivity against a persistence in the intention of rebellion.

The validity of Daniel's statement (i. 1) is not therefore by any means impugned by the xxvth chapter of Jeremiah. How is it affected by ch. xxxvi.? From verse 5 it appears that Jeremiah suffered for his bold and fearless speaking. He was 'shut up.' His presence was distasteful to the king and his life in peril; and he hid himself. But not for a moment did he cease his exertions. What he had spoken he desired Baruch to commit to writing, and read 'in the ears of all the people' on the solemn fast-day appointed for the ninth month of Jehoi-

akim's fifth year (*vv.* 1, 5, 9, 10). But what was the cause of this appointed day of humiliation? It cannot be confounded with the great Jewish fast of the Day of Atonement: that took place on the tenth day of the seventh month (Levit. xxiii. 27). It was undoubtedly a fast of an exceptional character; what gave occasion to it? According to those who defer the *first* visit of Nebuchadnezzar's army to Jerusalem till the *fifth* year of Jehoiakim at the earliest, it was intended as a religious effort to avert the hitherto unexperienced invasion. According to those who abide by the statement of Dan. i. 1, and place the first visit of the Babylonian monarch in the *third* year of Jehoiakim, it was appointed as commemorative of past afflictions and deprecatory of further acts of Divine judgment. With such a king as Jehoiakim upon the throne of Judah the latter seems the far more natural supposition[1]. Had no such partial attack occurred as suggested by Daniel, Jehoiakim would have regarded the possible approach of the Chaldæan army either with desperate indifference, or with a wicked determination to disbelieve the prophecy which announced it. It would have been his last act to have permitted a solemn day of humiliation before that God whom he outraged by every action (Jer. xxii. 17—9, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 8). But that he did permit it, proves that some very strong pressure was brought to bear upon him. There was a point beyond which he could not venture to tamper with the feelings of his people. Tyrannical and lawless, he was above all a coward; and when priest courtier and people demanded this solemn fast-day, he found it wise not to resist the demand. He took however no part in it, but retired to his winter-house (*v.* 22). There his better counsellors came to seek him. They had heard Jeremiah's own denunciations (xxv.) the year before; they heard them now again from Baruch's lips,

[1] Baxmann's objections to this (*Stud. u. Kritik.* 1863, p. 459) are in substance the same as Davidson's, *l. c.*

couched in stronger language. The awfulness of their nature convinced them. It was no time for hesitation. Prudence or timidity gave place to a sense of duty; and with a warning to Baruch and Jeremiah to hide themselves from the wrath of the king, they went into his presence. There is something very striking in the conduct of these 'princes.' They felt the critical situation of their country, and they ignored all personal danger. They rose up to a man from the audience they had given to Baruch in the 'scribe's chamber;' and this was the determination stamped upon their countenances—'we will surely tell the king of all these words.' They did so. Their numbers and their firmness saved them. Jehoiakim did not dare to touch them, but he shewed his true feelings by an impotent display of wrath against Baruch's roll. He listened to but a few of its pages, and then taking it from Jehudi he cut it to pieces with his knife and cast it into the brazier at his feet (xxxvi. 23). It was an act of blind fury fully in accordance with his character. His temper was soured by his act of submission to Nebuchadnezzar rather more than a year before; and from the moment he thought that there was the chance of his being free from the Babylonian yoke, he was determined to turn that chance into a certainty. Every thing that reminded him of his vassalage—warning, prophecy, and seasons of humiliation—only tended to irritate him. And this last and boldest act of his princes and Jeremiah together maddened him. He refused to see in it the hand of a merciful God; he only looked upon it as an insult to himself. He gave orders for the seizure of the offending prophet and his scribe, and destroyed the roll whose words of wisdom he hated.

From bad Jehoiakim went on to worse. The fifth year passed away, and the sixth came. Three years he had been subject to Nebuchadnezzar, and then he rebelled (2 Kings xxiv. 1). What good grounds he had for ima-

gining that his rebellion would be successful, it is impossible to determine. Pharaoh-Necho was a powerful prince, and by the end of three years after the battle of Carchemish he may have sufficiently recovered from the effects of that defeat to lead Jehoiakim to hope that Egypt would support him. But whatever inducements he had from without, there was that, stronger than any, suggested to him by his own bad heart. He threw off the yoke of Babylon, and within a year "the LORD sent against him the bands of the Chaldees, Tyrians and Moabites" (2 Kings xxiv. 2). Thus speedily was Jeremiah's personal prediction against Jehoiakim accomplished, and the honour of the Almighty vindicated (Jer. xxxvi. 31). Whether Nebuchadnezzar himself accompanied these 'bands' is doubtful. It seems most probable that he did not[1]. The affairs of his eastern dominions still occupied him, and he must have known that Egypt's assistance would be of the most imperfect character. What his generals did they would do in his name, and if 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6 refer to this attack upon Jerusalem, the acts there ascribed to Nebuchadnezzar would be simply those done by his authority.

It seems however doubtful to what precise time this verse (2 Chron. xxxvi. 6) is to be referred. Its indefiniteness permits its reference to the *third* year of Jehoiakim (and so to coincide with Dan. i. 1, and 2 Kings xxiv. 1), or to his sixth year (2 Kings xxiv. 2), or to his eleventh and last year. Niebuhr[2] prefers to identify it with the sixth. Jehoiakim is described as bound in fetters; it being the intention or the command of the king of Babylon to transfer him to Babylon (לְהוֹלִיכוֹ בָּבֶלָה). This intention was not fulfilled. 2 Kings xxiv. 6, Jer. xxii. 19, evidently lead one to suppose that he died at Jerusalem, though probably not a

[1] Niebuhr, p. 375.

[2] *l.c.* So Zündel, pp. 22, 3. Niebuhr seems almost to hold that Jehoiakim was actually taken away to Babylon. The arguments of Bleek (*Einl.* p. 476) are I think unanswerable against this view.

natural death. If the passage be taken as commemorative of Jehoiakim's submission immediately after the battle of Carchemish, it seems to corroborate the statement of Daniel that in that third year Nebuchadnezzar took away with him 'part of the vessels of the house of God.' The verse in the Chronicles mentions that the Babylonian monarch (or crown prince) carried 'of the vessels of the house of the Lord to Babylon, and put them in his temple at Babylon;' in this latter point also confirming Daniel's report[1]. There is evidently a distinction made between these vessels and those 'goodly vessels' (2 Chron. xxxvi. 10, 2 Kings xxiv. 13) carried away in the eleventh year of Jehoiakim or the first of Jehoiachin. It is this distinction which seems to make least probable of all the identification of 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6 with the closing scenes of Jehoiakim's life. And the difficulty connected with such identification is not diminished by the fact that it leaves unmentioned all the prior causes in Jehoiakim's career which brought about this final result. The general character of the verse permits of course

[1] The parallel is sufficiently interesting to bear reproduction.

2 Chron. xxxvi. 6, 7.	Dan. i. 1, 2.
Against Jehoiakim came up Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and bound him in fetters, to carry him to Babylon. Nebuchadnezzar also carried of the vessels of the house of the Lord to Babylon, and put them in his temple at Babylon.	In the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim king of Judah came Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon unto Jerusalem, and besieged it. And the LORD gave Jehoiakim king of Judah into his hand, with part of the vessels of the house of God: which he carried into the land of Shinar to the house of his God; and he brought the vessels into the treasure-house of his God.

Niebuhr's objection to this identification is—pace ducis mei—groundless. The opening expression of 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6 is too indefinite to found upon it an actual transportation to Babylon. On the other hand, this identification presents an additional explanation for the conduct of Jehoiakim described in Jer. xxxvi. The indignities he had endured, and the remembrance of his bonds, would be so many incentives first of all to smothered wrath, and lastly to open rebellion.

the application proposed, but it is not so satisfactory as either of the others. After his re-conquest Jehoiakim remained a prisoner till shortly before his death. That event took place in the eleventh year of his reign, and of the events of the three intervening years biblical history gives no information. It was probably a time of despair and stupefaction in Israel. Their king was a king only in name, and perhaps till his death Jerusalem was overawed by the neighbouring presence of the Babylonian troops. His death was followed by circumstances calculated to convince his feeble son and successor, of the madness of resisting the power of God and of the certainty of His judgments. How or where it took place is not precisely known. It was certainly not at Babylon, but more probably outside Jerusalem, possibly in some attack upon his enemies[1]. His dead body was grossly maltreated by his opponents[2], or by his own exasperated countrymen[3], but in either case in accordance with the denunciation of Jeremiah (xxii. 19, xxxvi. 30).

From these remarks it will, I think, be clearly seen that Dan. i. 1 contains neither contradiction nor chronological error. It is confirmed by testimonies Biblical and otherwise. It takes its place in the chronological notices of the time, and from its independent origin, its value is of the highest kind. It gives to 2 Kings xxiv. 1, and possibly to 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6, a definiteness which they would not otherwise possess. Moreover, the historian Berosus supports its statements. He proves, first, that Nebuchadnezzar had come in the third year of Jehoiakim to Jerusalem, by shewing that on his leaving his army to return to Babylon at his father's death, his captives were '*Jews*, Phœnicians, Syrians, and Egyptians.' This took place, as has been shewn, shortly after the battle of Carchemish.

[1] Niebuhr, p. 376. Bleek, p. 476.
[2] Josephus, *Antiq.* x. ch. vi. 3.
[3] Niebuhr, *l. c.*

And in the next place Berosus confirms Dan. i. 2, by pointing out that Nebuchadnezzar adorned the temple of Bel and other edifices with the spoils of those early wars. There is therefore no necessity for resorting to the supposition of Bertholdt[1] and Michaelis, that the eleventh year of Jehoiakim was expressed by Daniel in the Babylonian style as the third of his subjection to Nebuchadnezzar. That sort of Babylonian style did not exist. And there is no necessity for adopting the explanation of Hengstenberg, Keil, and Delitzsch[2], that Dan. i. 1 expresses only the commencement of Nebuchadnezzar's march (בא...ירושלים, *i. e.* he 'set out' for Jerusalem). However convenient it may be to argue from it, that Nebuchadnezzar started in the third year of Jehoiakim, and that the fourth year of that prince may be called the first year of the Babylonian's reign over Jerusalem, this usage of the verb is unwarranted, and the other hypothesis unnecessary. The verse records a plain historical fact, and in its plain meaning it is found true.

It is however quite possible, and even probable, that what Daniel expresses by the 'third year,' is slightly different from the regular Hebrew 'third year.' There was a difference of about half-a-year between the Hebrew and Babylonian styles[3]. The Jewish year began in the autumn, the Babylonian in the spring. But in either case, whether Daniel used the Babylonian or Hebrew style, the statement of i. 1 is not contradicted, as will be seen from the following table.

[1] *Einl.* i. p. 171. This proceeds from the supposition that the 'three years'' subjection dates from the eighth, not from the third year of Jehoiakim's reign.

[2] Herzog, *R.-E.* Art. 'Daniel.' A parallel is supposed to be found for this in Jonah i. 1: 'A ship going (באה) to Tarshish.'

[3] Stuart Poole, Art. 'Chronology' (Smith's *Dict. of Bible*), p. 324, note *f.* Niebuhr, pp. 365, 371.

	A	B
	Full Babyl. yr. = full Jew. yr.	B.C. 604 = $\frac{143}{144}$ Nab. era.
	(1 Nebuchadn. = 4th Jehoiak.)	$\left(4^{\text{th}} \text{ of Jehoiak.} = \frac{21 \text{ Nabopol.}}{1 \text{ Nebuchadn.}}\right)$
Expedition agst. Phar. Necho	20 Nabopolass. = 2 Jehoiak.	1st half of 3 Jeh. = 2nd half of 20 Nab.
Battle of Carchemish.	21 ..... = 3	2nd ..... = 1st ..... 21 .....
Pursuit of Necho as far as Jerusalem.	id. ..... = id.	id. ..... = id.

Under either system the 3rd year of Jehoiakim is identified with the battle of Carchemish and the 21st year of Nabopolassar[1], and immediately afterwards followed the attack upon Jerusalem mentioned by Daniel.

And there is a passage in the Book of Daniel itself which confirms the view here taken of i. 1, and supports the opinion that he is using the Babylonian style. In chapter ii. 1, the *second* year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign falls after the completion of those *three* years of Daniel's training which commenced with his captivity (i. 1, 5). This is in itself a clear indication that the expedition mentioned in i. 1 was undertaken in the last year of the reign of Nabopolassar, while as yet Nebuchadnezzar was not properly king[2]. The following table[3] will explain this point.

Jehoiakim's 3rd year.	Captivity of Daniel. Dan. i. 1. 21 Nabopolassar	
..... 4th ...	Nebuchad. 1st year.	Jer. xxv. 1.
..... 5th ...	..... 2nd ...	His dreams. Dan. ii. 1.
..... 6th ...		

[1] The table is taken from Niebuhr, p. 372.

[2] Westcott, Art. 'Daniel,' p. 390, note *a*.

[3] Vid. 'The three first years of Daniel's captivity.' *Journ. Sacr. Lit.* 1862, p. 162—8. Niebuhr, p. 372. Few would be disposed to assent to Herzfeld's emendation, that for 'second' should be read 'twelfth,' [Vol. I. (1847) p. 448, Anmk. 45].

Thus at the time of the taking of Jerusalem (Dan. i. 1) Nebuchadnezzar had not yet succeeded his father; Daniel simply calls him king by courtesy. The reckoning of his reign commenced from the date of his father's death, i. e. from that of his own accession. But Daniel's captivity is naturally reckoned from that particular attack upon Jerusalem in which he was taken: and three years onwards from that time would bring him to the second year of Nebuchadnezzar's sole reign reckoned after the Babylonian style. Dan. ii. 1 thus supports and establishes the statement of i. 1, instead of contradicting it, as has been so often affirmed.

§ 2. *Dan.* ii.

This chapter contains the dream of Nebuchadnezzar, and the circumstances connected with its elucidation by Daniel. Of the objections made to it I select the following. It is hardly credible, says Bleek[1], 'that Nebuchadnezzar should have insisted upon the demand here attributed to him. Not only did he require the interpretation of his dream, but the dream itself; he threatened moreover to punish with death not merely that class of his wise men whose special province it was to interpret dreams, but also the whole united body of the sacred college. The cruelty and injustice of this demand are too glaring to be credible.' Keil[2], in his remarks upon objections of a similarly negative character, has very justly observed that they owe their birth to the peculiar minds of their originators. In the 'modern school' there is an unwillingness to allow any narrative suggestive of miraculous intervention; and this subjective feeling is permitted to qualify the estimate formed of the objective evidence. In the present instance the spirit and practice of Oriental

[1] *Einl.* p. 598. Davidson, III. p. 183. Baxmann, p. 465.

[2] *Einl.* p. 400.

kingdoms are diluted to suit modern views, not Nebuchadnezzar's. To those accustomed to trace the hand of God in the disposition of all things, the demand of the Babylonian monarch presents no difficulty. Nebuchadnezzar was, unwittingly, an instrument of the Divine will. God had determined in His good providence to advance His servant Daniel, and invest him with high authority among men. Any means would have been all-sufficient to the 'King of kings, and Lord of lords,' yet did He employ those which, in the eyes of the superstitious Babylonians, immediately invested the Israelite with wisdom of a pre-eminent and supernatural character. Nebuchadnezzar under any such difficulty as that described in Dan. ii., would naturally turn to his 'wise men;' but in the present case he departed from his usual mode of doing so. Whether the ancient reason given in the heading of the Authorized Version,—that 'he had forgotten his dream'—be correct or not[1], at any rate Nebuchadnezzar, instead of stating his vision and then expecting a satisfactory explanation, demanded both dream and explanation. To the 'wise men' the demand probably appeared the mere whim of an Oriental despot. They answered him deferentially but half-ironically. It was not till they heard the penalty of death pronounced upon their silence, that they awoke to a sense of the imperious nature of their master, and to a conviction of their own fallibility. At such a moment the appearance of any one claiming the power to satisfy the king would very naturally be greeted with the heartiest welcome. There was a chance, as they would call it, of satisfying the 'troubled' Nebuchadnezzar, and of saving their own lives. What man proposed, God disposed. All things were working together for good for that servant that feared the Lord. Daniel, from the moment that he stated his willingness both to recall and interpret the mysterious

[1] Baxmann denies it.

dream, secured their attention. And when he proceeded to prove his assertion, he at once appeared to his heathen listeners as a being of supernatural power. It causes no surprise to read (*v.* 46) that 'the king worshipped him and offered his oblation to him' as to a god. Let Daniel disclaim all natural excellency of his own, Nebuchadnezzar reverenced in his pagan fashion the God of Daniel. To the priest-king of Bel, Bel-teshazzar was at that moment the visible representative on earth of all that was highest and most powerful in his pantheon. Daniel from that hour was 'a great man' (*v.* 47). The wisdom within him, however imperfectly apprehended by the proud Babylonian or his caste, was felt to be far superior to that of the Casdim, and the Jew was made 'chief over all the wise men.'

As regards the cruelty of Nebuchadnezzar's threatened punishment, no one in the nineteenth century would dispute the fierceness of its character, but was it so esteemed by the king himself? I think not. The capricious nature of the Eastern race, and the reckless regard for life, characteristic of Oriental potentates, make it perfectly intelligible[1]. Add to this, first,—the importance always attached to the interpretation of dreams by the ancient nations of the East, and the Babylonians especially; and next,—the boastful claims made by the sacerdotal Casdim to the power of interpretation; and then Nebuchadnezzar's act against them becomes one of lawless but intelligible rage. He had power over life and death, and he exercised it indiscriminately and without hindrance[2]. His boastful Casdim could not satisfy him, and therefore Bel should be propitiated by nothing less than a holocaust of those false aspirants to familiarity with the secrets of the gods. The cruelty of Nebuchadnezzar's nature is

[1] Martin, *Les Civilisations Primitives*, Par. 1861, p. 366, cites instances from Xenophon.

[2] Martin, id.

attested by Scripture[1] and history. His treatment of the sons of Zedekiah, and of the nobles of Jerusalem, was what modern usage would justly condemn as barbarous; but it was the custom of the age and of the man. He respected neither friend nor foe, servant nor slave. For the former he had such punishments as crucifixion and quartering (*v.* 5), for the latter, the furnace (iii. 6. 15), or exposure to animals[2].

Another objection urged by Bleek to the narrative of this chapter is founded upon ver. 48. How is it possible, he asks, that so zealous a worshipper of the LORD should have accepted the post of 'chief of the governors over all the wise men of Babylon'? This class of men, the 'Chaldees' (Casdim) were the Priests of the land; and owing to his connection with them, Daniel could not have escaped frequent participation in idolatrous rites[3]. The objection if sound would of course convict the writer of the book of a clumsy mistake. It could not have been made by an author living when Daniel is supposed to have lived. But independently of the negative character of this objection—independently of the confessedly scanty materials from which he had to form his decision, the facts as stated by Bleek certainly require modification. There is no decisive authority for the supposition that all the Casdim were priests, or associated with priestly duties. The Babylonian priests were undoubtedly Casdim, but it does not follow that the Casdim were necessarily priests[4]. The priestly dignity was hereditary[5], and this

[1] Comp. 2 Kings xxv. 7, 18–21; Jerem. xxxix. 5 seq.; lii. 9–11, 24–7. Vid. Hengstenberg, pp. 24–7. Winer, *R.W.B.* I. p. 221.

[2] These were Babylonian punishments. Herod. III. 159. Isai. xlvii. 2, seems to give another of a more torturing but less fatal character. Martin, p. 369.

[3] Bleek, p. 598. Davidson, III. 183.

[4] Rawlinson (Smith's *Dict.*), Art. 'Chaldæa.' [5] Martin, p. 374.

would of itself exclude Daniel from that particular class of the Casdim which performed priestly functions. Nebuchadnezzar was a Priest-Casdee probably by descent, or by virtue of his power and regal office[1]. The connection between him and the dominant caste at Babylon appears to have been of the closest character[2]; and this gave to that arbitrary potentate the power of setting Daniel at the head of the whole body, without permitting or intending any interference with opinions of a more directly religious nature. On such a point even Nebuchadnezzar would not have ventured to innovate. The act would have imperilled his crown, possibly his life. Daniel's position at Babylon was in fact the counterpart of Joseph's in Egypt. Joseph was the highest subject in the land, higher even than Potipherah the priest of On: Daniel was the President of the whole governing body of Babylon, political and sacerdotal. And just as Joseph acted towards the land of his captivity, bringing it into the direct possession of Pharaoh, with the one memorable exception of the priests' land;—so Daniel acted in Babylon. He ruled the whole country, but with a careful reserve as regards that special class, the priest class, so jealous of any interference. And Daniel's position among the Casdim becomes clear when the nature of this peculiar class of the Chaldees is considered. It is only within the last few years that the subject has been fully investigated; and though the question is not yet settled, the knowledge obtained thus far will help very materially to decide upon

[1] Nabopolassar appears to have been of Chaldee extraction. The title 'Priest-king' was the regular designation of the sovereigns of Babylon up to the time of Nabopolassar. It is found in the inscriptions of Esarhaddon and Sargon. And there seems to be no doubt that Nebuchadnezzar bore the same title-(v. Hincks, *Verification of Sacred and Profane Chronology*, p. 136. *Journ. of Sacr. Lit.* 1858, and id. 1859, p. 296, *Babylon and her Priest-kings*).

[2] Berosus (Josephus, *Antiq.* x. ch. xi. p. 391, ed. Dind.) speaks of Nebuchadnezzar as *παραλαβὼν τὰ πράγματα διοικούμενα ὑπὸ τῶν* Χαλδαίων *καὶ διατηρουμένην τὴν βασιλείαν ὑπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου αὐτῶν, κ.τ.λ.* This took place immediately after the death of Nabopolassar.

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the necessity or non-necessity of Daniel's participation in their religious ceremonies.

The Chaldæans are represented in Scripture until the time of the Captivity, as a nation which had Babylon for its capital and the plain of Shinar for its territory. But with this the Greek geographers hardly agree. And the difference appears to be caused by the varying senses in which the name was used. 'Chaldæan' it must almost be concluded was a general expression for the nomadic tribes and the earliest settlers occupying both the north and the south of the great central Asiatic continent. This will be seen from the following facts.

1. The Chaldees of the North. Their home some 2000 years B. C. was the mountainous district of Kurdistan, Pontus and the country of the Calybes[1]. The Greek historians[2] describe them in more modern times as a fierce and robber-race, notorious throughout the East for their deeds of lawlessness, and serving in the armies of India and of Cyrus as mercenaries[3]. They resembled in fact the modern Kurds with whom they have been identified. Lassen and Ritter were the first to demonstrate this identification; and it is now accepted by many of the leading philologists[4]. The name Kurd or Kard is recognized as an intermediate form between Casd (Hebrew) and Chald

[1] Winer, *R.W.B.* I. 217–8, s. v. 'Chaldäer.' Renan, *Hist. des Langues Sém.* p. 66. Ewald, *Gesch. d. Volk. Isr.* I. 378.

[2] *Cyrop.* III. 1, 34. *Anab.* IV. 3, 4; VII. 8, 25. Habak. i. 6 seq., and Job i. 17, are usually supposed to refer to this division of the Chaldees; but the passages are also claimed by the advocates of the second view. Rawlinson, *Five Great Monarchies*, I. p. 71 seq. (1862), reviews the arguments opposed to his own, but with all due respect be it said, without allowing them the force they appear justly to possess.

[3] *Cyrop.* III. 2, 7; VII. 2, 5. *Anab.* IV. 3, 4.

[4] Lassen, *Die Altpersisch. Keilinschriften v. Persepolis*, p. 81–6. Bonn, 1836. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, II. 788–96; VIII. 90 seq. It is the opinion of Gesenius (*Thesaur. s. v.* כשדים), Layard, *Discoveries &c.* passim, Pott, Chwolsohn, Lerch, Ewald, Winer and others (vid. Renan, p. 67, notes 1, 2). Spiegel (*Münch. Gel. Anz.* 1856, Sept.), and Ormsby (*Journ. Sacr. Lit.* 1856, p. 476), maintain a Semitic origin for these Chaldæans. Vid. Rawlinson, *The Five Great Monarchies, &c.* I. p. 56 seq. and reff.

(Χαλδαῖος), being connected with the former by the affinity of *s* and *r*, and with the latter by that of *l* and *r*, letters confounded in the Iranian dialects[1]. And the form reappears with a remarkable consistency in the names of the different people inhabiting the mountains of Kurdistan[2]. Any traces therefore of the ancient language of these Chaldæans is probably to be sought in the Kurdish dialect, and this belongs to the Aryan family of languages[3]. But 2. The Chaldees appear in the pages of Ptolemy and Strabo[4] as inhabiting that particular part of Babylonia which borders on the Persian Gulf and Arabia Deserta. Who are these? It would appear that they are to be identified with one of the many Cushite tribes inhabiting that vast alluvial plain known afterwards as Chaldæa or Babylonia[5]. These Cushites are possibly the same as the כותים or Cutheans, the Κίσσιοι of Herodotus, and the inhabitants of the modern Chuzistan[6]: but they are cer-

[1] Renan, p. 66. Gesenius regards כרדי as the older form, afterwards changed into כשדי. Ewald, Renan, &c. consider כשדי the older. In the Zend language the sound *l* is completely unknown; it is always represented by *r*. The knowledge of this has furnished the means of identifying many Vedic and Zendic names and words (e. g. by Burnouf, *Journ. Asiat.* p. 38, 1848. Pott, *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.* xv. p. 379. Haug, *Essays on the Sacred language, &c. of the Parsees*, p. 245, 1862). Similarly the letter *l* is wanting to the cuneiform inscriptions representing the Persian pronunciation under the Achæmenian dynasty: thus, in the names Babylon and Arbela, *l* is replaced by *r*. The *l* however appears in the Sassanian inscriptions, where both Ailán and Airán, Anilán and Anirán occur. (Pott, pp. 380–1. Max Müller, *Lectt. on the Science of Lang.* p. 244, n.). Chwolsohn states that in the 'Nabatean Agriculture' the form Kaldee is never found; usually the form is Kasdee, but in one place Kardee occurs, though not in all the MSS. (*Ueber Tammuz u. d. Menschen verehrung bei d. alten Babylonien.* p. 89, n. 1. S. Petersb. 1860).

[2] Renan, id. Assem. *Bibl. Orient.* II. 113, III. 2nd part, p. 734.

[3] Renan, p. 60, vid. Max Müller, Table I. *Genealog. Table of the Aryan Family of Languages.* Appendix, p. 400.

[4] Ptol. v. 20, 3. Strabo, XVI. 739. Winer, *R.W.B.* I. p. 217.

[5] Rawlinson, Art. 'Chaldæa,' *Op. cit.* *Bampton Lectures*, p. 438 (1st ed.), notes on Herod. I. 181 (Rawlinson's ed. 1858, I. p. 319). The arguments have been again summed up and amplified in the *Five Great Monarchies*, I. 58 seq., p. 189 seq.

[6] Renan, p. 59. Movers, *Die Phœnizier*, II. 1st part, pp. 269, 276, 284 seq., and 2nd part, pp. 104–5, 388.

tainly identical with the Cephenians, to whom Greek tradition attributed the foundation of the first Chaldæan Empire[1]. Their progress was from South to North, from Susiana and Babylonia to Assyria. Babylon, Nineveh, and other cities, whose colossal ruins are gradually being brought to light, were founded by them. It was this race which originated the metrical system,—that scientific development which made Chaldæa famous,—and instituted the earliest researches into astronomical, mathematical, and industrial sciences[2]. These points are proved by the tablets and cylinders found among the ruins. The language of these monumental relics has been compared by Oppert[3] and Fresnel[4], with that of Arabia; and the general conclusion is accepted that the Babylonian inscriptions contain a Semitic dialect analogous to the dialect of Marah, which in its turn is a relic of the ancient language of Cush or Ethiopia[5]. The ideographic writing so characteristic of Turanian nations connects the early Babylonians with Ethiopia and Egypt[6], while evidence of the mutual interchange of civilised ideas between those countries points unmistakeably to the same conclusion[7].

[1] Renan, id. refers to C. Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* I. p. 67, vid. Niebuhr, *Gesch. Assurs u. Babels*, pp. 511–2. Döllinger, *The Gentile and the Jew*, I. 420 (Engl. Transl. 1862).

[2] Renan, Rawlinson, Döllinger, *ll. cc.*

[3] *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenländ. Gesellsch.* XI. p. 137.

[4] *Journ. Asiat.* 1853, June and July. This Mémoire (*Antiquités Babyloniennes*) is extremely valuable and interesting. Fresnel meets and examines some of Sir H. Rawlinson's views, and in a manner at once courteous and scholarlike.

[5] The modern use of the name Ethiopia is more limited than the ancient. The Cushites appear to have spread from the higher Nile to the Euphrates and Tigris, and into Arabia. Vid. Smith's *Dict.* s. vv. 'Cush' and 'Ethiopia.'

[6] Rawlinson, *Herod.* I. pp. 442–3. On the word 'Turanian,' vid. Max Müller, pp. 294–5. It is that family comprising all languages, with the exception of Chinese, spoken in Asia and Europe and not included under the Aryan and Semitic families. The non-Semitic primitive language of Babylonia is variously called Cushite, or Scythic, or Tataric (Oppert, and Niebuhr).

[7] Renan, p. 59. He refers to Kunik, *Mélanges Asiat. de l'Acad. de St Pétersb.* I. pp. 504 seq., 512 seq. Vid. also Lepsius, *Einl.* 2, *Chronol. d. Ægypter*, p. 122 seq. Döllinger, I. p. 420 seq., 436 seq.

When the Cushites of central Asia were subdued by the Semites[1], the victors imparted their language (the Aramaic) to the vanquished; and this became the prevalent language in Assyria and Babylonia. For hundreds of years the Chaldæans generally disappear from history. There is a blank between the records of Gen. x. and the later historical books which it is now impossible to fill up, but in the seventh century B.C. their name once more appears in the affairs of the East[2]. It is then used almost synonymously with Babylonians, and possibly with the Assyrians. Ezekiel has described them as they appeared in his day. They are men of remarkably handsome person and equipment, 'girded with girdles upon their loins,' 'exceeding in dyed attire upon their heads,' mounted upon fiery steeds, or riding in their war-chariots: they are 'all of them princes to look to,' 'captains and rulers clothed most gorgeously, all of them desirable young men' (xxiii). And the Prophet describes them indiscriminately as 'Sons of Babylon' or 'Casdim' (בני בבל, כשדים, E.V. 'Chaldæans'). But who are these Chaldæans? By some they are considered the Chaldæans of the North; by others those of Cushite extraction rising once again to power. According to the former view, the mercenary habits of those robber tribes caused them to enter the service of the Assyrian power[3], and in one of their forays Babylon fell into the power of their masters, just as Bagdad fell, some 1500 years later, under the pressure of the northern army employed by the Khalif. But their vassalage did not last long; they soon cast off the Assyrian yoke and established that kingdom made familiar to us by the notices of the Old Testament. Once become the dominant caste of Babylon, they gave, like the Turks, their name to the race they had conquered, though that

[1] Niebuhr, *Gesch. Assurs*, p. 153, n. 2. Döllinger, I. 420. This took place as early as B.C. 2100. Brandis, *De rerum Assyriarum temp. emend.* p. 17, &c.

[2] Niebuhr, *l.c.* and p. 423. Renan, p. 64 seq.

[3] Winer, *R. W. B.* p. 218. Renan, p. 68.

race far exceeded them in numbers[1]. According to the other view, while the national character of the Babylonian kingdom was Semitic, the warrior tribe remained Tataric[2]; just as Bagdad continued Semitic, though the body-guard of the Khalif was Turkish. As the Chaldæans increased, their name gradually prevailed over that of the other tribes, and from being a conquered race they became in their turn supreme. With the dynasty of Nabopolassar, if not earlier, arose a really Chaldæan power, and this greatly helped to widen the use of the appellation. It had by this time two senses, both ethnic: in the one it was the special appellative of a particular race to whom it had belonged from the earliest times; in the other it designated the nation at large in which this race was predominant[3]. The case resembled that of Britain, where the name of the Briton was merged for a while in the Saxon and the Angle, but eventually dispossessed them. Under Nebuchadnezzar the Chaldæans attained the height of their power.

Niebuhr[4] has sought to combine these two views in a manner at least ingenious, if not convincing. The Chaldees of Kurdistan were Aryan in speech, but he thinks it very possible that they were originally either Semitic or Tataric tribes, which mixed with the Aryans in the Armenian mountains, and acquired the Aryan dialect. But whether this were so or not, it need not be denied that the Chaldæans of Babylon would number under that general appellation, in the time of Nabopolassar and earlier, Aryan, Semitic, and Tataric populations. In Babylon, says the Armenian Eusebius[5], there was a vast multi-

[1] Winer and Renan. Gesenius dates the commencement of their subjection to the Assyrian power from the commencement of the Nabonassarian era (circ. B.C. 747, Winer, p. 220, Niebuhr, *Gesch. Ass.* p. 47); Hitzig and Rawlinson (Art. 'Chaldæa'), though differing as to the nature of these Chaldæans, refer it rather to the time of Nabopolassar (B.C. 633–25).

[2] Niebuhr, p. 153. Tataric is used by this writer as others use the word Turanian (vid. Max Müller, p. 303).

[3] Rawlinson, Art. 'Chaldæa.'

[4] *Op. cit.* pp. 423–4.

[5] Renan, p. 58. The value of the Armenian Eusebian Chron. upon these

tude of every kind of nation inhabiting Chaldæa; Æschylus[1], in his tragedy, has depicted a motley crowd issuing from its walls; and Scripture well illustrates the characteristic feature of the modern Babel by recording decrees issued to 'people, tribes and languages.'

But from this ethnic sense there arose a class sense. The name of a people became appropriate to a priest caste, or sect of philosophers[2]. The Chaldee, to resume the old distinction, became a Casdee[3]. The nature of this Casdim-class has been explained by different writers in accordance with their opinion upon the Chaldæans generally. The Chaldæan tribes, whether of north or south, described in the Hebrew Scriptures seem to be essentially of a military stamp; but by the time of Herodotus the designation is transferred to a particular class, as in Daniel (ii. 2, 5, 10, iv. 5, v. 7, 11). To explain this transference appears difficult. The Casdim evidently spoke a language distinct from that of the popular Babylonian speech. It was looked upon as the peculiar privilege of the aristocratic class, and evidently, if the courtier-names given to Daniel and his companions be considered Aryan, had nothing Semitic in its composition[4]. Heeren[5] believed them to be the Magi who came from the Kurd-mountains with the Chaldæans. And possibly like the Medes or the Celts, this tribe possessed, side by side with its military organization, a sacerdotal class analogous to the Druids or the Mobeds. Or it may be, that the scientific pursuits called Chaldæan were the heritage of the primitive inhabitants of Babylon, and when

points has been amply proved by the use made of it by Brandis (*über d. hist. Gewinn aus d. Entzifferung d. Assyr. Inschriften*, Berl. 1856, p. 11 seq.).

[1] *Persæ*, 51.

[2] Herod. I. 181, 183. Diod. Sic. II. 24–7.

[3] I merely preserve the distinction of p. 51, n. 1, as a matter of convenience. Renan, p. 68, has shewn that the difference often made between the Chaldæans as a military class, and the Casdim as a priest-class, is untenable: and Niebuhr's view reversing this order (p. 423) is of course liable to similar objections.

[4] Renan, p. 65. Keil, *Einl.* p. 113. For the other view vid. p. 94.

[5] *Ideen*, I. 2, 196. Münter, *Relig. d. Babyl.* p. 83.

the name became synonymous with Babylonian, everything which had reference to Babylon was classed under the head of Chaldæan. Under this supposition the Casdim might even be, not the priest-class of the Chaldæans properly so-called, but that of the Babylonians reckoned under the common appellation[1]. This latter view would very much tend to establish a point of amalgamation with the supporters of the Cushite origin of the Chaldæans. The Casdim were, according to these last critics, the 'wise men'—the dream-interpreters of the Tataric warrior-tribe[2]; and this priestly caste was connected with the Egyptian priesthood possibly by an interchange of cosmogonic and astronomical ideas[3]. It was the opinion of Diodorus that the Cushite Magians had actually immigrated from Egypt; and it is quite possible that when the primeval Babylonians submitted to the Semitic race, the old Cushite-Cephenic priesthood was perpetuated in the conquerors and in the process of time assumed the common denomination. This same opinion as to the identification of Babylonian and Chaldæan nomenclature furnishes also a point of union for the opposite views upon the court-language taught to Daniel and his companions. If that language was simply the popular Babylonian speech, i.e. of Semitic origin and kindred to Aramaic, it seems difficult to understand why such pains were taken to instruct the young captives in a language which they would have no difficulty in acquiring[4]. It was closely allied to their own Hebrew and to that *patois* which had been gradually deteriorating in purity. But if that special language (i. 4) was that of the Kurd-Casdim, i.e. Iranian, or that of the Cushite-Cephenic priesthood, i.e. Turanian modified and corrupted by the lapse of ages, and therefore difficult and unusual, then there seems in either

[1] Renan, p. 68. [2] Niebuhr, p. 152, note.
[3] Döllinger, I. 420. Martin, *Les Civil. Prim.* p. 374 seq.
[4] Vid. p. 68 seq.

case a sufficient reason for their undergoing the three years' preparation. But however difficult it may be to decide these points, one thing is certain, that the more enlarged sense of the whole scientific caste of Babylonia given to the word Casdim by the Greek and Roman writers[1], is not intended in these passages of Daniel[2]. Daniel was a Casdee as Seleucus the Greek was a Casdee, and not in the narrower and more priestly sense in which Berosus claimed the name[3]. He was taught the Casdee learning, whatever that was, in the Casdee language; and all who studied that, whatever their language and whatever their race, were called Casdim. As 'master of the Casdim' (v. 11) Daniel was the head of that large and learned class, who by their acquaintance with the language of science had become its depositaries. They were priests, magicians, astronomers[4], &c. as they were inclined, and on such subjects as the interpretation of dreams they were the king's chief advisers; but it does not appear to be at all a necessary conclusion that the whole college of Casdim must have been priests, or connected with sacerdotal functions. The most superficial examination of the character of Daniel, as set forth in the book which bears his name and in the comments of Ezekiel, altogether opposes itself to any collusion with or unworthy acquiescence in idolatry on his part. The man who at different periods of his life refused to be fed with regal, probably sacrificial, fare (i. 8), and exchanged his position as 'first of the presidents' for the lions' den sooner than commit a ceremonial or moral offence against the

[1] e.g. Strabo, XVI. 739, 762. Diod. Sic. II. 29 seq. Cic. *Div.* I. 1, 2. Ammian. Marcell. XXIII. 6. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* I. p. 131.

[2] Winer, *R. W. B.* I. p. 222. Niebuhr, p. 153. Rawlinson, *Herod.* I. 181 seq., and Art. 'Chaldæa.' Vid. Ideler's *Mémoire* on the scientific pursuits of the Chaldæans, *Acad. d. Sciences*, Berlin, 1815; or summarized in Hoefer, *L' Univers Pittoresque*, IX. 388, Par. 1852.

[3] Tatian, *Or. adv. Gr.* 58. Niebuhr, p. 11.

[4] Martin, pp. 357, 374. Rawlinson, *Art. cit.*

laws of his God, was not likely to have accepted the post of chief of the wise men had it been incompatible with his religious convictions. His pre-eminence was, humanly speaking, exhibited in branches of scientific learning; upon such points his opinion was asked and accepted (i. 19, 20); but with religious matters he had nothing to do. He was not summoned to Nebuchadnezzar to interpret the dream till 'magician, astrologer and Casdee' had failed; and when in the royal presence, he distinctly asserted that none of that body to which he belonged could satisfy the king; it was the 'God of heaven alone who revealed secrets;' not even to himself was it revealed 'for any wisdom that he had more than any living' (ii. 24—30). His religion and that of his fellow captives, 'the three children,' separated him and them entirely from the more purely sacerdotal class of the Casdim. Had it been an objection to Nebuchadnezzar, or to Arioch, or to Melzar;—had it offended the fastidious taste of the priest-caste, Daniel would never have been admitted into the college. It would have been a step which even the imperious Nebuchadnezzar would not have ventured to suggest; it would have been an outrage upon the feelings of the priests which they would most certainly have resented. And as at the first, so did Daniel remain unmolested after his appointment as chief over their whole body. The superstitious nature of the Asiatic might almost be said to have necessitated this. The devotions and allegiance of Daniel, were paid to that God of whom the Babylonian priests knew nothing except His superiority to Bel and Nergal. The only exhibition they had seen of His power, had caused their royal head to bow before Him as 'the God of gods and Lord of kings;' and the only words spoken by His priest as coming from Him, had been such as the 'sun and the stars' had never imparted to the most ardent member of their astrological class. It may therefore be very safely assumed that

Daniel's position as chief of the wise men—astrologers, soothsayers, Casdim and others—in no way necessitated a change in his religious convictions. It would indeed have been simply a proof of the clumsiness of a forger to have made him at one moment a devoted Jew, at another an idolatrous devotee. It is never safe to argue *e silentio*, but yet it seems a fair question to ask: Allowing that it was possible for the priest-class, or even the Casdim generally, to have charged Daniel with sacrilegious behaviour *ex officio*, why was it never done? Under Darius, the president and satraps, who may of course have numbered among them members of the more directly sacerdotal class, had to resort to an expedient both far-fetched and novel to do this. I certainly think, that the national contempt of the Jew and the stigma attaching to the whole Casdec-body by the presence of a foreign president, would have been strong incentives to decided action against that president, had it at any time been possible. That proceedings were never taken, not even at the opportunity afforded by the dedication of Nebuchadnezzar's image, appears a strong proof of its impracticability. *Argumenta e silentio* can never be counted of any great weight, but their testimony should at least be heard on both sides of a question[1].

§ 3. *Dan.* iii.

In this chapter is contained the well-known history of the dedication of Nebuchadnezzar's image, the refusal of the 'three children' to worship it, and their consequent punishment. The most strenuous objections offered, independently of the miracle which closes it, are—first, that it is very improbable that so huge a *golden* image should

[1] For instance, the best answer Dr Davidson could possibly wish to his arguments in the *Introd.* III. 183 (1863), are his own views put forth in the *Introduction* (Horne's ed. 1859), p. 928.

have been set up; and secondly, that Daniel's absence from the dedication is inexplicable when his position as president of the Casdim is considered[1].

The Book of Daniel gives clear indications of a strongly developed religious enthusiasm on the part of Nebuchadnezzar towards his gods[2], and this chapter presents notable instances of it. A briefer but very significant instance is recorded in i. 2 (comp. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 7, 10). And the Babylonian inscriptions illustrate and confirm this in a remarkable manner. Those silent voices of the past signalise the devotion of Nebuchadnezzar to Bel-Merodach as one of the most marked features in his character[3]. The celebrated standard inscription[4] is a case in point. Merodach is there addressed as 'my lord, the joy of my heart in Babylon, which is the seat of his sovereignty and of my empire.' The king attributes to the god his elevation to the throne. 'Merodach, the great lord, has appointed me to the empire of the world, and confided to my care the far-spread people of the earth. Merodach, the great lord, the senior of the gods, the most ancient, has given all nations and people to my care.' Again, the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar always terminate with a prayer to Merodach, invoking the favour of the god for the protection of the throne and empire, and its continuance throughout all ages to the end of time. Among the Babylonians, therefore, and especially under Nebuchad-

[1] Bleek, p. 508. Baxmann, *Op. cit.* p. 466. The answer of this critic is directed against some remarks offered by Zündel; but the value of the answer is in equal proportion to the ridicule he employs. Davidson (III. 184) only alludes to the second of the objections in the text.

[2] The Polytheism of Babylon is a well-attested fact. Vid. Rawlinson, passim, e.g. *The Five Monarchies*, ch. VII.; a *Mémoire* of Renan's in *Journal Asiatique* of Febr. and May, 1859. Layard's *Nineveh*, II. 451 seq. (1849).

[3] Rawlinson, *Herod.* I. pp. 627–9, and notes; II. p. 585. Hincks, 'Babylon and her Priest-kings,' *Journ. Sacr. Lit.* p. 302 seq. 1859. Fox Talbot, *Journ. Sacr. Lit.* p. 414, 1856. The three scholars here quoted may differ about the translation of particular words, &c., but they agree in that point for which reference is made to them.

[4] Vid. authorities in previous note.

nezzar[1], Bel-Merodach was regarded as the source of all power and prosperity. Herodotus[2], when describing the great temple of Belus at Babylon, speaks of its image as a sitting figure of Jupiter made of gold. The throne and the base were also of gold, and in front of the image was a table of gold. The priests of the temple told him that the gold amounted in weight to about 800 talents. In the time of Cyrus there was another figure, that of a man, placed in this temple. It was 12 cubits high, and made of solid gold.

Now such passages prove that any exaggerated form of worship to the god, or any excessively large image dedicated to him, would neither have been impossible to Nebuchadnezzar nor surprising to his people. The difference between the size of the figure still existing in the time of Cyrus and that mentioned in Daniel (iii. 1), is undoubtedly great, but the enormous size, or rather height, of the latter admits of an easy explanation. Certainly it should never be urged that the absence of allusions to it in other sacred and profane records is condemnatory of its existence[3]. The love of the Babylonians generally for everything grand and colossal is a fact familiar to every reader of the pages of Layard and Rawlinson. The cellars of the British Museum and the galleries of the Louvre illustrate the fact in a most satisfactory manner[4]. As in architecture, preference was shewn for everything huge, irregular, and majestic however grotesque, so in the supplements and embellishments to their architecture[5], there

[1] Comp. the name *Bel*-teshazzar given to Daniel; *Bel*-shazzar to Nebuchadnezzar's successor; *Bel*-esis to Nabonassar, possibly also to Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar.

[2] I. 183. Vid. Rawlinson's notes *in loc.* Layard, *Nineveh*, II. p. 452.

[3] Bleek, and De Wette.

[4] Vid. the illustrations in the works of the writers quoted in note 2, and at the end of *L' Univers Pittoresque: Asia.* Tom. IX.

[5] It is no small illustration of the capabilities of the Babylonian architects, that these stupendous edifices created their awe-inspiring effects by the aid of the simplest material—burnt bricks; vid. chap. v. 'Architecture,' in Rawlinson,

were giant forms here, and colossal figures there, uncouth and exaggerated, but always commanding[1]. It was a part of their ideas of civilization to have it so; and the system lay deeply imbedded in their religious creed. The poorer Babylonian, it would seem[2], was not content with small household gods of wood: they must needs be large, 'images that could not be moved' (Isai. xl. 20). And so it was in the particular case mentioned by Daniel. Nebuchadnezzar's image was of the most stupendous character. It stood 60 cubits high, and when raised aloft in the vast plain of Dura[3], it was easily seen by the countless multitude ready to obey the behests of their sovereign lord. The proportions given, 60 × 6, describe the nature of the image. It was in reality either like that of the Amyclean Apollo, a column terminating in a head and feet, or a simple pedestal, surmounted by the bust of the god. It is easy, of course, to protest that such an image or figure or column was impossible, because so monstrous and ill-proportioned[4], but the ideas of the European upon

The Five Monarchies, p. 90 seq. Fergusson, *Handbook of Architecture*, I. Bk. IV. ch. I. *Assyrian Architecture*, p. 161 seq. (1855).

[1] Vid. in addition to works cited, a very useful summary in Kalisch, *Genesis*, App. to ch. X. p. 302 seq. (1858). Gesenius, *Allgem. Encycl. v. Ersch u. Grüber*, Art. 'Babylon.' Rawlinson, Art. 'Babylon,' Smith's *Bibl. Dict.*, and Ruetschi, id. Herzog's *Real-Encyclop.*

[2] Münter, *Religion d. Babyl.* p. 58.

[3] Oppert discovered at 'Dûair' (Dura) the pedestal of a colossal statue: vid. Art. 'Dura,' Smith's *Bibl. Dict.* This plain or valley situated במדינת בבל is identified by Layard (*Nin. and Bab.* p. 469) with 'Dur' on the left bank of the Tigris. But Quatremère (*Mém. géogr. de la Babylonie*, quoted in Migne, *Dict. de la Bible*, Vol. II. p. 31, n. 1, s. v. *Daniel*. Paris, 1845) takes the word דּוּר not in the sense of a province but of a town, and fixes the site of Dura within the western precincts of Babylon itself. Oppert (*l. c.*), from his opportunities of personal inspection, is however more probably correct in placing it not in the western, but in the south-eastern quarter of the city.

[4] The statue of Nebo discovered in Jan. 1854, and figured in Rawlinson (*The Five Monarchies*, p. 179), stands about 5ft. 7in. in height, on a pedestal only three inches in thickness (*Journ. Sacr. Lit.* p. 477, 1856). This proportion is as one to twenty, that in the text only one to ten. Facts have proved the former, and it does not seem a very difficult thing to admit the latter. If the so-called obelisk of Semiramis mentioned by Diodorus and Ctesias as one of the

such points must always be corrected by those of the Asiatic. Heeren's protest[1] against this summary rejection is both sound and equitable. He felt and maintained that European experience was far too local to permit authoritative decision upon the scale of possibility current in other lands under different climes, and influenced by circumstances entirely dissimilar. The Pyramids of Egypt, the wall of China, the rock Temple of Elephanta, and the very walls of Babylon[2], stand up in mockery of that criticism which would dwarf to its own dimensions the capabilities of a mighty nation.

And if the objection to the colossal nature of the image cannot be maintained, least of all should the epithet of 'golden' be magnified into a stumbling-block. The *usus loquendi* of Exod. xxxix. 38[3], and such passages as Isai. xl. 19, xli. 7, xliv. 13; Jer. x. 3—5, illustrate the frequent practice of overlaying images and altars with gold, and calling them 'golden.' It seems a somewhat captious criticism to make an objection of what most readers would immediately understand to be merely a popular mode of description. The hollow brazen image of Moloch may be taken as a type of many of the colossal statues of the Assyrian and Babylonian deities. These, when 'golden,' were not of solid gold; the surface only was overlaid, the interior being hollow, and the whole image formed of some

'seven wonders,' was really, as seems very probable, the work of Nebuchadnezzar (Fresnel, *Journ. Asiatique*, July, 1853, pp. 32–5), a pedestal-figure such as the text of Daniel describes was surely no impossibility. It is an interesting point of parallelism brought to light by the 'Nabatean Agriculture,' that allusion is there made to a golden image of colossal proportions suspended between heaven and earth in the temple of the Sun at Babylon (Chwolsohn, *Ueber Tammuz u. s. w.* pp. 41–50, and n. 4, p. 50).

[1] *Ideen*, I. 2, p. 170, quoted by Hengstenberg, *Genuineness, &c.* p. 80.

[2] Herod. I. 177. Vid. notes to Rawlinson's edition, *in loc.*, and Art. 'Babylon,' Smith's *Dict.*

[3] A wooden altar overlaid with gold and called golden: vid. also Numb. iv. 11. This was made of acacia-wood; that in Solomon's temple (1 Kings vii. 48, 1 Chron. xxviii. 18) was made of cedar overlaid with gold.

other metal, or of wood or of clay. So here, Nebuchadnezzar's image was called 'golden' from its superficial coating, but it was hollow, like that other image mentioned by Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus[1]. But, in fact, whether this were the case or not, it may very safely be asserted that it was quite within the power of Babylon the 'golden' (Isai. xiv. 14; Jer. l. 37, li. 13) to make the statue of gold, had such been the will of that monarch who had raised his capital to the summit of her greatness and power.

Bleek's second objection turns upon an *argumentum e silentio*. Daniel's three friends were present at the dedication of this image, why was not Daniel? Certainly, nothing is easier than to raise objections from the silence of a narrative. But as a rule such objections are of force in accordance with the predispositions of those who urge them. It may therefore be at once asserted that Daniel's absence has received and requires no explanation. He was not present, and there ends the matter. As president of the wise men of Babylon, modern opinion decides that he ought to have been: the sacred history indirectly tells us that he was not. Which shall be followed? But to set one *arg. e sil.* against another, it may be accepted as certain that if Daniel's absence had been capable of misconstruction, then most assuredly his enemies would have availed themselves of their opportunity of attacking him. That they did nothing of the kind, cannot be explained away upon the supposition that the deliverance of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego stopped further proceedings. Daniel's absence would have been the subject of comment long before the actual scene in the presence of Nebuchadnezzar. And to take refuge behind that supposition involves the somewhat unexpected admission that the narrative of the miraculous deliverance is true. Daniel, as far as Oriental customs illustrate the case, was probably

[1] Herzfeld, I. p. 449 (1847), cites a very old Jewish tradition, that the gold used was that brought in the spoil from Jerusalem.

invited *ex officio* to the dedication, not as head of the sacerdotal class only, but as governor of the executive officers of the realm. He was not required to perform any priestly function; and therefore his absence created no defect in the religious ceremonies. He was absent for unexplained reasons. That is quite sufficient answer for most reasonable men. In any ordinary narrative the silence blamed in Daniel would certainly never be admitted as evidence against the veracity of the statements advanced. Strange that in Scripture alone it should be maintained sufficient to condemn them altogether.

§ 4. Ch. iii. 31, iv. (*Hebrew*); iv. (*E. V.*).

The seven years' malady of Nebuchadnezzar has always proved a very great difficulty to the opponents of the authenticity of the Book of Daniel. It is assailed as being both unhistorical and miraculous. Its duration, says Bleek[1], must have caused great confusion and alterations throughout the kingdom of Babylon. The disease of the king was very peculiar; witness its accompanying features. 'He ate grass as oxen, and made his dwelling with the beasts of the field' (iv. 32, 33, E. V.). And yet no notice is taken of this remarkable illness by any of the historians, native or otherwise. The Chaldee Berosus makes no allusion to it; and however brief his record of the life of the greatest of the Chaldæan monarchs, it is somewhat surprising that one of the most eventful occurrences of that life should have been passed over in silence. In fact, with the exception of the Book of Daniel, no Scriptural-writing refers to it. And considering the hatred felt by the Jews towards Nebuchadnezzar, it was surely to be expected that their writers—the pseudo-Isaiah and Ezekiel for instance—

[1] Bleek, *Einl.* p. 598. Davidson, III. 184–6. Baxmann, p. 466.

would have mentioned it, if only the bare report had reached them. Josephus merely copies the story from Daniel; and Origen and Jerome, so far as they troubled themselves about the matter, found no traces of it in any historian.

The animus of such objections is evident at once. It exhibits a searching after difficulties, a desire to magnify omissions which is neither just nor critical. It appears to be forgotten that sacred and profane history have not given to posterity that connected and consecutive form of narration adopted by the modern historian. There are blanks in that long roll of the past which no human being can possibly supply; points are omitted, or but cursorily mentioned, which modern investigation longs, and longs in vain, to illustrate fully. But when these occur in profane records, no one rejects the whole because individual features demanded by individual minds are not forthcoming. One historian supplies or incidentally furnishes the clue to the omissions of another. Why is this justice refused to the Scripture accounts? Distinct authors bring forward distinct statements, and these supply the lacunæ of native historians. Why is distinctness, praised to the skies in the profane writer, the signal for the condemnation of the inspired penman? The attitude of some critics almost transforms the suspicion into a certainty, that if Scripture-history had never presented itself as such—if it had burst upon modern opinion as suddenly as the discovery of the sacred roll upon Josiah—then men would at once have assented to its statements however difficult and strange. But because it exhibits itself to the nineteenth or any century supported by the highest intellects of every age, and backed by the suffrages of intuitive wisdom and religious conviction, therefore its complements and its omissions are alike tokens of spuriousness. Sometimes it tells too much, sometimes too little, and hardly ever in a manner satisfactory to the critical purist. It is very easy to make a great deal of an omission

here and an addition there; but it argues very little satisfaction with the main objections employed when they have to be propped up by such vague and negative supports. It certainly betokens little expectation of obtaining the hoped-for conclusions from larger and more healthy principles of criticism.

But as regards this chapter of the Book of Daniel, there are many facts which tend to modify considerably the conclusions of Bleek and his school. For instance, it should not create the slightest surprise that no canonical work refers to the malady of the king, when it is remembered that not one of them, in its historical sections, embraces the period connected with the events of the chapter. The concluding years of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar are not noticed in any sacred writing. The Books of Kings and Chronicles extend their accounts of Nebuchadnezzar's life no farther than the last deportation of captives in the nineteenth year of his reign; and that reign lasted 43 years (604—561 B.C.). Jeremiah and Ezekiel died in exile, the one in Egypt, and the other in Babylonia probably before the death of Nebuchadnezzar; and there is nothing in the nature of the subjects handled by the prophets, which either requires that they should have mentioned the king's malady, or makes it strange that they have not done so. Ezra and Nehemiah in their turn treat of a much later period, that of the Persian supremacy. To argue therefore from the silence of canonical Scripture is both unfair and precipitate. Josephus, again, *may* have taken his account from the Book of Daniel. There is nothing to shew that he did not, but there is also no just reason for branding him as a mere plagiarist. The Jewish historian, however anxious to magnify his own nation, may certainly be acquitted of any intentional dishonesty here. From the manner in which he appends to his own narrative the account of the life and death of Nebuchadnezzar furnished by Berosus, it would seem that he

had no other object in view than simply to illustrate a portion of the Chaldee period from every available source.

It must not however be denied that the early historians, with possibly one exception, do not allude to the malady described by Daniel. The anxiety to find traces of it in their pages has unintentionally done much harm. Hengstenberg and Zündel[1] have laid too much stress upon certain passages in Berosus and Abydenus, and the point has not been unnoticed by their opponents. Thus the Chaldee historian[2] (Berosus) describes the death of Nebuchadnezzar as following close upon his commencement of the wall of Babylon. 'He fell sick,' are his words, 'and died.' This sickness has been explained to be one of a lingering character, but the words do not necessarily bear that interpretation. The fragment of Abydenus[3] is of a very curious character, and it is evidently the reproduction of an ancient tradition; but more has been extracted from it than is just. It is this. 'It is said by the Chaldæans that Nebuchadnezzar ascended to the roof of his palace, and then, inspired by some god, spoke as follows: "O Babylonians; I Nebuchadnezzar foretell to you an impending calamity, which neither my progenitor Bel nor queen Beltis[4] can persuade the fates to avert. There shall come a Persian mule, allied with your own gods, to impose servitude upon you. A Mede, the boast of the Assyrians, shall be his associate. Oh! that some Charybdis or the ocean would swallow him up. Would that he were forced some other way through the desert where there are no cities nor

[1] Hengst. *Genuineness, &c.* p. 83 sq. Zündel, pp. 15–27. I have merely quoted these among many.

[2] Quoted in Josephus *contr. Apion.* I. 20 (Vol. II. p. 351, ed. Dindorf). Ναβουχοδονόσορος μὲν οὖν μετὰ τὸ ἄρξασθαι τοῦ προειρημένου τείχους ἐμπεσὼν εἰς ἀρρωστίαν μετηλλάξατο τὸν βίον, βεβασιλευκὼς ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα τρία.

[3] Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.* IX. 41. The original is given entire by Hengstenberg and Zündel; and a portion of it by Rawlinson, *Bampton Lectures*, Lect. V. note 16, p. 436 (1st ed.).

[4] For notices of this goddess, vid. authorities quoted in note 3, p. 128, and Hincks, *Journal of Sacred Literature*, p. 405, Jan. 1862.

track,...and would that I had found a happier end before learning so terrible a disaster." When he had thus prophesied, he immediately disappeared.' From this 'rare legend,' as Bertholdt termed it, Hengstenberg endeavours to deduce a transference of the Scripture account to the pages of the historian. The narrative of Abydenus, he believes to be, a false conception of the Chaldæan tradition, or an intentional distortion of it. Madness and prophecy often stand in the closest connection, according to the opinion of antiquity; and Nebuchadnezzar's madness, he therefore thinks, is alluded to here. He finds a support for his view in the indefinite expression "some god," by which he understands that Nebuchadnezzar referred his malady to the power, not of a native, but of some foreign god. And he discovers further, in the notes of time and place, a remarkable correspondence with the account of the Book of Daniel (iv. 29). But some of the deductions here advanced are certainly unwarranted. Verses 34—6 of this chapter distinctly assert the recovery of the king. "His reason returned to him: his counsellors and his lords sought him; and he was established in his kingdom." This at once defers the sickness noticed by Berosus to a later period than that recorded by Daniel. And it also opposes itself to Hengstenberg's deduction from the concluding words of Abydenus: "he immediately disappeared," that is, he died. Too much stress must not be laid upon these passages. All that can be fairly maintained is that the latter embodies a tradition greatly resembling the account given by Daniel[1]. A peculiar kind of malady befell Nebuchadnezzar. This the Casdim disguised so as to establish his claims for deification. His speech they attributed to Divine inspiration; and the concluding words of Abydenus almost imply that they considered the great

[1] The likening of Cyrus to a Persian mule is referred with some probability to the Pythian oracle in Herod. I. 55. V. Niebuhr, *Gesch. Assurs*, p. 207, n. 2. Herzfeld, I. p. 102, note (1847).

King translated[1]. The Casdim neither wished, nor were permitted, to place the whole truth in its plain unvarnished form[2]. Davidson allows that the same fact, whatever that was, served as the foundation of both narratives; but he almost immediately after disallows the only just solution explanatory of their similarity. He prefers the gratuitous assumption, that this peculiar sort of malady was dressed up as a legend by the two people, in accordance with their inclinations and tastes. The Jew desired to honour the Almighty and His prophet, the Babylonian his god and his king; and the former did this by representing Nebuchadnezzar as glorifying God on his recovery. But this hypothesis may be safely left to its own merits.

In addition to the silence of Canonical Scripture, the silence of contemporaneous literature is also adduced against this chapter. But when such requisite confirmation of the Biblical record is considered more closely, it becomes almost self-evident that the native historians would be the last to furnish it[3]. Nebuchadnezzar was a Casdee, and in the hands of the more sacerdotal class of this body were placed the annals of the realm[4]. Were they likely to tarnish the glory of their great King by placing upon record an affliction of so strange and debasing a character? And even supposing that they had done so, it was quite within the power and the character of an Asiatic despot, such as Nebuchadnezzar, either to efface after his recovery all records of his illness, or to transmit them to posterity obscured and enigmatical. Davidson's objection that Nebuchadnezzar was too much humbled and too penitent to do this, rests upon moral not historical grounds; but on moral grounds it is untenable,

[1] Niebuhr, p. 207, n. 2. 'In der Volkssage lebte er fort, wie Karl der Grosse, Barbarossa,' u. s. w.

[2] Niebuhr, p. 95. N. uses the 'Eitel-keit d. babylonischen Priesters,' to explain an omission in the lists of the Chaldæan kings.

[3] Rawlinson, *B. L.* p. 165.

[4] Niebuhr, *l. c.*

when the character of the man is considered. The Babylonian monarch is to be judged, not by the Christian, but by the heathen estimate of moral convictions. Pagan conceptions of the Divine Power, and pagan actions, even after the most signal illustrations of that Power, were often in complete contradiction to what might have been anticipated. The prototype of Nebuchadnezzar was Pharaoh. The Egyptian King alternately repented and hardened his heart, proving his penitence to be commensurate in intensity and duration with the first sharp feelings of remorse and fear. He went on saying one thing and doing another, till he closed a vacillating career by death in the Red Sea. Nebuchadnezzar acted in a very similar manner. Like the Egyptian, he had his warnings. One was the proof of the powerlessness of his wrath against the 'three Children.' He repented of that act much in the same way that Pharaoh repented of the misery his obstinacy was bringing upon his people. "It is the finger of God," cried the 'magicians' to their King; "it is the Son of Man," exclaimed the haughty Babylonian: but the confession once made, they went their way and soon forgot that Almighty Power so superior to Apis or Bel. A second warning came to Nebuchadnezzar from Daniel (iv. 27). It had a momentary effect like the former; but within a year it was forgotten, and then a punishment, like in proportion to the slaying of the first-born, fell upon the vain-glorious monarch. He recovered from his illness, but beyond that the Sacred Narrative does not go. What was the nature of that after-life it is worse than useless to conjecture. Yet analogy points a sad finger, first to the prayer of Pharaoh, "Go, serve the Lord as ye have said,...and bless me also" (Exod. xii. 32), and then to the noble words of praise spoken by Nebuchadnezzar (vv. 34—7, E. V.); and the thought arises that since the one was followed by further disobedience and death, there may be cause to be thankful that a veil has been cast over the concluding years of that life which was a perpetual

illustration of the proverb, "Pride goeth before destruction, and an haughty spirit before a fall." The moral notions of Nebuchadnezzar were neither those of the Christian, nor of the Jew. He was a heathen monarch, sunk in ignorance, and that an ignorance fostered by pride; and though, with God, nothing is impossible, though the King was taught better things by the stern teacher adversity, yet in the absence of all evidence, it cannot be assumed that he ever attained that high standard assigned to him by Davidson.

For some time the famous Standard Inscription[1] was supposed to contain clear allusions to this malady of Nebuchadnezzar's. But the opinion has been rectified by the later researches of its translator, and of Dr Hincks. All that now seems deducible from it is, that in comparison with what he had been doing at Babylon, no other place was equally favoured. The buildings, the treasures, the works of irrigation carried on at Babylon, exceeded any similar works in the provinces. And nowhere did the king offer such praises and such sacrifices to Merodach as in his capital. Whether the preference felt for the royal city explains all the difference here recorded or not, must remain uncertain. Later discoveries will probably throw further light upon the passage. But there does seem a not indistinct allusion to a period of comparative inactivity; and Rawlinson's conjecture, that this was due to the suspension of his faculties recorded by Daniel, though avowedly conjectural, may ultimately prove correct[2].

The insanity[3] of Nebuchadnezzar then, though unnoticed by contemporaneous and later Biblical writers, and only obscurely alluded to by profane historians, cannot be rejected as a 'legend.' It has its difficulty, but such as is

[1] Rawlinson, Herod. I. p. 516, note 4.

[2] Id. *B. L.* p. 166.

[3] Trusen (*Sitten Gebräuche u. Krankheiten d. alten Hebräer,* 1853) defines the malady to be 'insania zo-anthropia.' Welcker calls it Lycanthropy. (Delitzsch, Herzog, *R.-E.* 'Daniel.')

insurmountable only by those who refuse assent to all definitions of historical requirements save their own. And, to pass for a moment beyond the narrow circle of ideas to which I have confined my remarks, the whole narrative, when taken in connection with the times and regarded as revealing an act of Almighty power full of encouragement to the Israelite and of warning to the Babylonian, commends itself at once to that mind which finds no stumbling-block in a miracle, and no trace of spuriousness in an otherwise unrecorded punishment.

§ 5. Ch. v.

Belshazzar.—Darius the Mede.

Who knows not by heart the history of this chapter? Who has not gazed with a kind of vague and ill-defined fear upon John Martin's dark and terrible picture? or who has not realised from mere power of imagination that scene so peculiarly dramatic? There is Belshazzar at one moment springing to his feet, at the next crouching to the earth before the mysterious symbols limned upon the 'plaistered wall of his palace.' Clinging to him are hundreds of shrieking women and effeminate courtiers. Before him and around him lie the *débris* of a banquet, surpassing in magnificence the most profuse achievement of a Sardanapalus. Seats are overturned; the sacred vessels of gold are scattered about in reckless confusion; instruments of music are broken and tossed aside; while 'gods of gold, silver, wood, brass, and stone,' the only unconcerned spectators of that scene of drunken debauchery, mad despair, and terrified agony, peer in dumb curiosity upon the surging crowds. Who has not pictured to himself the entry of the prophet of God—so calm, so great, and so holy—and thought how king and courtier, astrologer and eunuch, wife and concubine, fastened their looks

on that unruffled brow? In a moment the tumult was hushed. A breathless silence ensued, more awful than the wail preceding it. And then the sound of that one voice broke upon the ear of the 'thousand' listeners, and told to all the fate of the king. The 'fingers of God' had written his doom. 'That same night was Belshazzar slain.'

But alas! for the picture: alas! for the simple majesty of the holy record. It must all be set aside. Modern criticism has decided against it. Matter-of-fact comes in and asks with freezing irony; How can you believe that all these events took place in one night? Think what a feast this was. The banqueting alone must have taken an enormous time. And then came the drinking. While that was going on the order was issued to bring in the vessels of Jerusalem's temple. Not till after that appeared the writing upon the wall. Then all the astrologers and soothsayers had to be summoned. This took time; and those men wasted still more in guessing and proposing solutions before they gave in and confessed their inability to explain the mystery. Then came the queen-mother with her proposal. That had to be considered, and when accepted, Daniel himself had to be found. Strange, by the way, that so great a man as the quondam-president of the realm had not been appealed to before. And then when found, Daniel had to be got ready; and when ready to be brought into the royal presence. Strange again, that when there, he gave a solution of the writing highly unfavourable to his royal master, and was immediately rewarded, actually before the value of his interpretation was tested. He was decorated with a gold chain and a purple robe, and forthwith proclaimed as the third ruler of the kingdom. That proclamation must have taken a long time to draw up and send round: and then,—but that is all. The objector stops at last, only however to crush you with his dictum. 'It is very difficult to believe this; it is quite incredible that all this took place in

one night[1].' But the pause is only for a moment. He has at hand objections of a far more solid and critical character. The former objections were purely tentative; now comes the tug of war. There is force and meaning in the next questions and their alleged consequences. Who was Belshazzar? Who was Darius the Mede? Profane history knows nothing of either. The last king of Babylon was Nabonnedus; and the king who captured the city was Cyrus the Persian. How do you reconcile this with the statement in Daniel? The thing is impossible; and if so, at least admit this conclusion, that the 'sacred history is liable to the charge of incorrectness, because various particulars disagree with profane history and the monumental inscriptions[2].'

This is manifestly a very serious charge, and the alleged historical contradictions upon which it is founded are not urged lightly or inconsiderately. Even when stripped of afterthoughts such as those mentioned at the beginning of this section, what remains is sufficiently important to require grave and serious consideration. If it is to be met and refuted at all, it must be refuted upon sound and critical grounds. I would divide then the subject into the two main heads suggested by the questions.

First of all, who was Belshazzar? In the Book of Daniel he is the last of the Chaldæan kings of Babylon (v. 30). But how is this to be reconciled with the accounts of Berosus, Megasthenes, Abydenus, and others? The history of that immediate period as given by Berosus is briefly this[3]. Nebuchadnezzar after a reign of forty-three years was succeeded by his son Evil-Merodach, who reigned but two years. His character and habits made him odious to his people, and he was assassinated by his brother-in-

[1] Bleek, p. 599. Davidson, p. 186.

[2] Davidson, p. 191.

[3] Contained in Josephus *c. Apion.* I. ix. 20 (II. 351, ed. Dind.).

law Neriglissar, the Nergal-shar-ezer of the Babylonian monuments[1]. This last-named prince reigned four years, and dying a natural death left his crown to his son Laborosoarchod, a mere boy[2]. The traits of a vicious disposition and cruel habits early visible led to the formation of a conspiracy against the life of the young king. He was murdered by his own friends, possibly under circumstances of extreme barbarity[3]; and the conspirators unanimously offered the vacant throne to one of their own number, Nabonnedus, a Babylonian by birth but not connected by blood with the royal family. He held it for seventeen years. This prince, called Labynetus by Herodotus, was ultimately conquered by Cyrus in battle, and then besieged in Babylon. At the capture of this city, Nabonnedus escaped to Borsippa[4] where he capitulated. His submission was accepted, and as it was thought advisable that he should leave Babylonia, he was sent to Carmania, where he died. Looking at these facts, and comparing them with the brief record of Daniel and other Jewish writers, nothing can be at first sight more opposed than they are the one to the other. Yet Daniel as an eye-witness of what he recounts deserves the fullest confidence of his readers. And the same must be said, in a great measure, of Berosus and his brother-historians. They drew their narratives from the archives of Babylon and

[1] Rawlinson, *Bampton Lectures*, v. note 31, p. 441, gives the different forms this name assumed at the hands of Polyhistor, Abydenus, and Ptolemy.

[2] The true reading and spelling of this name are very doubtful, vid. Rawlinson, *l. c.*

[3] Berosus, *l. c.* The expression used is *ἐνυμπανίσθη*. Comp. Heb. xi. 35. 2 Macc. vi. 19. 3 Macc. iii. 27.

[4] This the Birs-Nimrud of modern discovery (Rawlinson, Art. 'Babel, Tower of,' Smith's *Bibl. Dict.*) is termed by Niebuhr 'the Chaldean Benares; the city in which they preserved the most revered objects of their religion, and where they cultivated their science.' (*Lectt. on Anc. Hist.* I. Lect. XII. p. 108, ed. Schmitz.) Papers full of interesting information upon this venerable monument of antiquity will be found in Vols. IX, X. *Journ. Asiatique*, 1857, and above all in Vol. XVIII. *Journal of R.A.S.* 1860 (Sir H. Rawlinson).

oral sources; and they must not be condemned as ignorant of the facts they narrate, nor be branded as impostors. Is it then possible to reconcile the two? The answer may be at once returned in the affirmative; but the mode in which that reconciliation has been, and is now conducted, differs most completely. The resolution of this difficulty has been attempted upon two directly opposite modes of argument. The first proceeds upon the necessity of identifying Belshazzar with one or other of the little number of kings named in the list of Berosus; the second upon the principle of non-identification. Of late years the current of opinion has been setting steadily towards the latter. The former is encompassed by many difficulties; and the expedients suggested to meet them are so evidently theoretical, that the opinion finds little favour with many advocates of the authenticity of the Book of Daniel. The opinion is however still maintained by critics of the highest reputation, and on the principle of seniority may claim to be considered the first. I may perhaps be excused following out every possible identification that has been suggested. There are now but two which still require consideration from the critical reputation of those gentlemen who adopt them, and these I will briefly state.

a. *Belshazzar identified with Evil-Merodach*[1].

The latest advocates of this identification are Niebuhr, Wolff, Westcott, and Zündel. Evil-Merodach was the 'son' and immediate successor of Nebuchadnezzar: and the first

[1] Niebuhr, *Gesch. Assurs.* p. 91 sq. Wolff, *Stud. u. Krit.* p. 684, 1858. Zündel, p. 26 sq. Westcott, (Smith's *Bibl. Dict.*) Art. 'Darius (the Mede).' The identification of Evil-Merodach with the Illoarudamus of the Astronomical canon is not disputed. (Rawl. *Herod.* I. Essay viii. p. 517, note 6. Niebuhr,

is the title given to Belshazzar in the Books of Daniel (v. 2, 11, 18, 22), and Baruch (i. 11, 12). Whatever be the date of this latter book, whether it be placed at the close of the Persian period, or considerably later[1], the tradition as preserved in it is curious, and must not be condemned as the wilful repetition of an historical error. It is also thought that the description of Evil-Merodach, given by Berosus, corresponds to that of Belshazzar by Daniel. The character of both princes was stained by vicious and profane propensities; and their deaths were alike sudden and the result of a conspiracy. By itself the difference of names presents no obstacle to this or any other identification. Belshazzar was undoubtedly a title of honour[2], perhaps confined to the royal family[3] and royal favourites, just as Bel-teshazzar was added to that of Daniel. It is quite possible that Evil-Merodach was the official name attached to the son of Nebuchadnezzar, and Belshazzar that which he bore as heir-apparent. The latter placed him under the immediate protection of the tutelary deity of Babylon. But yet there are objections to the application of this name to him by Daniel[4]. Evil-Merodach was the name by which the Jews already knew the son of Nebuchadnezzar (2 Kings xxv. 27; Jer. lii. 31), and there is no

Op. cit. p. 42). The names of the kings of this period may be tabulated as follows.

Ptolemy's Canon.	N.E.	Years of reign.	*Berosus.*	Years of reign.	*Scripture.*	B.C.
Nabokolassar,	144	43	Nabuchodonosor,	43	Nebuchadnezzar,	604
Illoarudamus,	187	2	Evil-marudach,	2	Evil-Merodach,	561
Nerikasolassar,	189	4	Neriglissor,	4		559
			(Laborosoarchod),	9 m.	(Belshazzar),	
Nabonadius,	193	17	Nabonned,	17	(Darius the Mede),	555
Cyrus.	210	9	Cyrus.	9	Cyrus.	538

[1] Ewald, *Gesch. d. Volk. Isr.* IV. 230 sq., adopts the former view. Westcott dates it B.C. 169 (Art. 'Baruch,' Smith's *Bibl. Dict.*).

[2] Niebuhr, p. 31.

[3] Hincks, *Journ. of Sacr. Lit.* p. 409, Jan. 1862.

[4] Quatremère, (Mél. Hist.). *Mémoire sur Darius le Mède et Balthasar*, p. 384.

just reason why a work written by a Jew should designate him by a new and unfamiliar title. This of itself would not be of much force; but there are other and stronger objections behind. From verses 10—12 of this chapter, it seems certain that Belshazzar was not acquainted either with the person or the fame of Daniel; and yet he is not ignorant of the terrible mental alienation of his father, or of the great events of that reign with which the prophet had been so closely connected. This combination of ignorance and familiarity would be impossible in the case of Evil-Merodach,—the immediate successor of Nebuchadnezzar. Further, it is difficult to understand how Daniel could have declared to Evil-Merodach that his kingdom was about to pass away to the Medes and Persians. That prince was not slain by a foreigner, but by his own brother-in-law, the Chaldæan Neriglissar.

Niebuhr[1] acknowledges that these are difficulties, but he meets them as follows. He considers that the narrative of Daniel (vv. 30, 31) does not allude to the celebrated siege and capture of Babylon by the Persians under Cyrus (B. C. 538), but to one by the Medes under Darius-Astyages (B. C. 559). The verses are generally understood to mean the former; but for the sake of argument it may be conceded that their literal silence does not compel that sense. Zündel[2], taking the same view, believes further that the copula ו (ודריוש, v. 31, E. V., vi. 1, Heb.), usually supposed to connect immediately Belshazzar's death and the succession of Darius, need not be so understood. He considers it not a note of time, but a note of fulfilment of prophecy. Niebuhr adds to his first assumption a second arising from it. He inserts a Median interregnum of one year after the murder of Evil-Merodach (Belshazzar) by Neriglissar. Darius the Mede, called in to help, took the kingdom as supreme sovereign, and Neriglissar reigned with

[1] p. 92 sq. [2] p. 31.

him as his vassal-prince: at the end of the year Darius was expelled by Cyrus (B. C. 558). Allusions to this are thought to be found in Daniel's mentioning the first year of Darius only (ix. 2), and in a supposed incompleteness in the political arrangements Darius had proposed to make (vi. 3). Cyrus himself we are to believe did not remain in the neighbourhood. Babylon again became free, and after a lapse of twenty years Cyrus returned and retook it when under the sceptre of Nabonnedus (B. C. 538). Niebuhr allows that the interregnum is opposed to the unanimous account of the other historians. Though they mention Neriglissar, they make no allusion to his superior Darius. But the German critic thinks that this is to be explained by the fact that Neriglissar did not fall with Darius, and that therefore his name only was preserved by the Casdim in their lists. The accounts of Berosus, it is urged, are very brief, and though the historian does not mention Darius, silence does not preclude his supremacy as the then-sovereign of Babylon. That Neriglissar was merely a vassal-prince, is supposed to be supported by the fact that soon after the removal of Darius his own power began to decay. But this explanation is replete with difficulties; at every stage it may be questioned. Like the assumption of Schulze[1], that the name of Evil-Merodach was given to Belshazzar in commemoration of his misfortunes, the whole is dependent upon ingenious but forced interpretations. Granted that Darius the Mede did not take the kingdom of the Chaldæans immediately after the murder of Evil-Merodach by Neriglissar;—granted that it was quite possible for Neriglissar

[1] 'Cyrus der Grosse.' *Stud. u. Krit.* p. 680, 1853. 'Evil-Merodach diesen namen ('Thoren des Unglücks') erst ex eventu empfangen habe, und sich daraus der doppelte name trefflich erkläre: Daniel, am Hofe lebend, war an den eigentlichen namen gewöhnt, Belsazar; andere, fernerstehende Schriftsteller aber sind der Redeweise des Volkes gefolgt und nannten ihn Evil-Merodach.'

to seek to cement his power by a defensive alliance with a Median king, and that thus the name of Darius (a mere personal name for the Median sovereigns) became connected with the events of that date; yet there is a common-sense appearance about the objections already mentioned which cannot be set aside by clever theories. Niebuhr's view certainly solves the difficulty sometimes felt about the age of Darius (v. 31); but the date, B.C. 559, which it affixes to the death of Belshazzar, rests so entirely upon theory that it can only be adopted in the event of facts refusing to entertain any other.

b. *Belshazzar identified with Nabonnedus*[1].

This is the more general opinion of the two. It is that adopted by Ewald, Winer, Herzfeld, Browne, Martin, and others[2]. At first sight it appears a natural opinion, and that which may be most conveniently reconciled with the account of Daniel. It is founded chiefly upon the statements of Herodotus and Xenophon[3]. These historians describe the capture of Babylon as taking place in the midst of a voluptuous revelry such as Daniel depicts, and Isaiah and Jeremiah had foretold. But their narratives, though agreeing with Scripture in some points, differ from it in

[1] There are two distinct forms of this name; that of the classical writers, and that of the inscriptions. The former write it Nabonidus, Nabonadius, Nabonnedus, Labynetus (Herod.), Nabannidochus (Abydenus), Naboandelus (Joseph. *Antiq.* x. § 11, 2). The latter write it Nabu-nit, Nabu-nahit (Rawl.), Nabi'hu-na'hid (Hincks), the Persic and Scythic forms, and Nabu-imduk (Rawl.), Nabou-imtouk (Hincks) the Accadian or Babylonian form. The meaning of the name appears to be 'Nebo blesses' or 'makes prosperous' (Rawl.), or 'Nebo is glorious.' (Vid. Rawl. Works quoted *ll. cc.* Hincks, 'Arioch and Belshazzar,' pp. 399–404. *Journ. Sacr. Lit.* Jan. 1862.)

[2] Ewald, *Gesch. d. Volk. Isr.* IV. p. 85, n. Winer, *R. W. B.* s. v. 'Belsazzar.' Herzfeld, *Gesch.* I. 154 (1847). Browne, *Ordo Sæclorum*, 171. Martin, *Les Civil. Prim.* p. 363.

[3] Herod. I. 191. Xenophon, *Cyrop.* VII. 5, 15, &c.

many and important particulars. And it is perfectly impossible to reconcile them with the statements of Berosus, Megasthenes, and Abydenus. The objections to this identification are, in fact, too numerous to be lightly set aside. Independently of the *primâ facie* objection, already made to the identification of Belshazzar with Evil-Merodach, that had Nabonnedus been the son of Nebuchadnezzar, he would not have received from Jewish writers two Babylonian names,—there are others which collectively seem insuperable. The Babylonian historians unanimously exclude Nabonnedus from any birth-relationship with the royal family of Nebuchadnezzar. He was simply a native of Babylon, possibly of noble family[1], who had raised himself to the position he occupied in the household of Neriglissar. Again, the characters of Belshazzar and Nabonnedus are very dissimilar. It seems hardly probable that the man, selected for the vacant throne by the conspirators against Laborosoarchod, should have closed a soldier's reign of seventeen years in the midst of orgies and debauchery such as Daniel describes. Nabonnedus was a prince who had at heart the welfare of his country and his city; witness the massive works and stupendous wall forming the frontage of Babylon towards the river[2]. The melancholy close to a career recorded by Daniel is far more in accordance with the character of a reckless dissipated boy, than with the habits of a warrior grown grey in the battles of his country. Further, the Chaldæan historians assert the

[1] In the inscriptions Nabonnedus only claims for his father the title of Rab-Mag. This title is given in Jer. xxxix. 3, to a second Nergal-sharezer, to distinguish him from the prince of the same name. The Biblical form Rab-Mag is written on the cylinders Rabu-emga, and probably means 'chief-priest.' Gesenius' opinion (*Thesaurus*, II. 766, s.v. מג) that the title indicated the 'princeps magorum,' would seem to require part-correction. The Babylonian word representing the Persian Magi in the Behistun inscription bears no resemblance to the -emga of this title. (Rawl. *Herod.* I. p. 518, and notes. *Bampt. Lect.* V. n. 33.)

[2] Berosus, (in Josephus *l. c.*). Duncker, *Gesch. d. Alterthums*, Vol. II. p. 503, Berl. 1855.

death of Nabonnedus to have been very different from that of the Belshazzar of Daniel. When Nabonnedus found resistance in the battle-field useless, he retreated to Babylon, and far from perishing at its capture, escaped to Borsippa. After an honourable capitulation, he was sent from thence to Carmania, where he died. Evidently this bears no resemblance to the statement of Daniel, that 'that same night was Belshazzar slain.' The identification seems to be in fact impossible: it leaves the difficulties connected with the whole question altogether unsolved.

The truth appears to be that no identification can be made, and that none is required. Belshazzar is the name given by Daniel to the last king of Babylon; Nabonnedus, that by the historians best entitled to attention. The difference of name forms, of itself, no barrier to their being both borne by one and the same king; but there is so essentially different an account attached by Scripture to the name of Belshazzar, and by native historians to that of Nabonnedus, that the identification of the two can only be admitted on the failure of every other method of explanation. Such explanation has been offered, and there seems no reason for questioning the broad historical outlines, facts, and illustrations upon which it rests. Two modes, ingenious, satisfactory, and supported by names of the highest distinction, have now been before critics for some years. The one emanates from M. Quatremère, the other from Sir H. Rawlinson. The former was published and defended many years ago[1], before cuneatic discovery had attained its present growth; and though acquainted with the results of such discovery as far as his own life extended, I do not find that the French scholar withdrew his published views upon Belshazzar. In many respects he followed out a parallel line of thought with Sir H. Rawlinson, and his point of divergence will be readily recognised

[1] In the *Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne.* 1838. It appeared, in substance, in Migne's *Dict. de la Bible,* Vol. II. p. 30, note. (1845).

as occurring where it might naturally be expected. I should be disposed to think that had he become acquainted with the secrets of the Babylonian cylinders subsequently brought to light by the English savant, he would have endorsed the interpretation now generally affixed to them. At least he would have allowed to them that weight which his talented mind always accorded to the solid researches of others, even when differing from them. In memory of one who is now no more, I may perhaps be permitted to assign to his view the place of honour. I can but regret the impossibility of reproducing in an English dress the bright and happy diction of one of the first Oriental scholars of France.

Holy Scripture, says M. Quatremère[1], distinctly declares that Nebuchadnezzar was to be succeeded by his son and his son's son (Jerem. xxvii. 7). Profane history no less distinctly asserts that Nabonnedus, the last king of Babylon according to its testimony, was not a member of the royal family. Now Nabonnedus, though ambitious, was evidently a very skilful acute man: keenly alive to his own interests, yet perfectly sensible of his perilous position. He did not fail to see that revolutions, by a few rapid and merciless strokes, could deprive of life and power many a prince who fancied his throne secure. He knew how equivocal was his own title to the throne. He was an usurper, and exposed at any moment to an usurper's fate. There seemed to him one, and that a no unusual means of consolidating his power; and he adopted that means. He associated with himself a scion of the family of Nebuchadnezzar. This was Belshazzar, the son of Evil-Merodach. By this step Nabonnedus secured for the throne the respect naturally felt by the Babylonians toward the blood-royal. Whether he assumed from the first the title of King, or wished to have it thought that

[1] *Mém. cit.* p. 388 sq.

he was contented with the second place, cannot be determined. Supreme kings and vassal-kings, so contrary to the modern conception of monarchy, was a frequent combination among Eastern potentates[1]. It was quite possible that such was the case here. The act of Nabonnedus kept at a distance every rival, and left in his hands all the real power. While the young prince was encouraged in every licentious and debasing pursuit, the Soldier-King secured the popular vote by his attention to home and foreign affairs. He and his brother conspirators against the life of the son of Neriglissar, found their crime overlooked by their apparent submission to the grandson of Nebuchadnezzar; and till the approach of Cyrus and the subsequent capture of their city, there seemed to be no check to their prosperity. On this hypothesis, the prophecy of Jeremiah is fulfilled:—and the title of 'Son of Nebuchadnezzar,' given to Belshazzar by the queen-mother, contains nothing strange. The child was not born at the death of his great ancestor; and the perilous times encompassing his early years, making it almost treason to speak of his branch of the family of Nebuchadnezzar, fully explain his non-acquaintance with Daniel. The character possible to this young prince is exactly that which Daniel has depicted in Belshazzar, and Nabonnedus would be content to encourage. Royalty was debased by the puppet-King into the handmaid of voluptuous pleasure, and made the means of facilitating vice. Gladly did Belshazzar leave to his martial colleague every form of public administration. Hence it was Nabonnedus, not Belshazzar, who determined to try the fortunes of war with Cyrus, and went to meet him in open field. It was he who for

[1] Nieb. *Gesch. Assurs.* p. 93. The phantom-sovereign retained the name of prince, while the usurper, under the name of atabek or regent, retained absolute power. Thus the first Mameluke Sultan of Egypt, though permitted to assume the supreme authority, was compelled to associate with himself a young child of the family of Saladin. (*Quatrem.* p. 390.)

eighteen months defended his city against the armies of the Medes and Persians; baffling the progress of the siege by his courage and talent. And it was he who escaped from that city when a masterly stratagem on the part of Cyrus convinced the valiant defender that further resistance was useless. Belshazzar in the meanwhile had returned to his usual abandoned habits. The terror at first imparted to him by the sight of his enemies soon vanished. Day after day passed over, and the city was still safe. The walls of Babylon were impregnable, and the stores of his capital inexhaustible. He soon learned to forget his enemy, and only awoke to his danger when the 'fingers of God' proclaimed his doom. In that hour of careless security and reckless debauchery he met his death by the swords of those Medes he despised[1].

This hypothesis also explains the assertion of Herodotus, that Labynetus (Nabonnedus) was the son of a prince of the same name and Nitocris. The historian gleaned his account of the destruction of the city at some distance from the scene of the actual events; and the name of Labynetus being furnished to him as that of the most famous and most glorious actor in those events, he applied to the warrior that title of king which properly speaking was confined to his effeminate colleague. And this simultaneous reign of Nabonnedus and Belshazzar is further supported by the undesigned attestation of a few incidental words. Belshazzar, when he saw the mysterious words upon the wall, declared that the man who should read and interpret them should be clothed with scarlet, be decorated with a chain of gold, and be made the *third* ruler in the kingdom. Evidently the pusillanimous monarch thought no distinc-

[1] It is a fact recorded by Arist. *Pol.* III. 1, 12, that three days after Babylon was taken some of the inhabitants were still unaware of it. This illustrates both the vast size of Babylon and also the degree of security into which the inhabitants had fallen. Babylon included, as Arist. tersely expressed it, not a city but a nation. Comp. Duncker, *Op. cit.* p. 506.

tion could be too great for the man who should relieve him of his anxiety. He promised him the insignia of a Grand Vizier, and the highest position possible to a subject. But why was this the *third* place, and not the second? What was there to prevent Daniel receiving the dignity conferred upon Joseph? Simply this; that with Nabonnedus and Belshazzar as joint-kings, or as supreme king and vassal-king, the third place was the most exalted position Daniel could take. To have named him second would have betrayed a sad want of accuracy. It is in fact due to Daniel alone that the name of Belshazzar has been known to the world for so many centuries; the prophet, as an eye-witness of the events of that day, knows more of Belshazzar, less of Nabonnedus, and he recounts those scenes, by preference, in which the former bore the prominent part. In this there is an exceedingly strong proof of the authenticity of the work which bears the prophet's name.

By this hypothesis, then, the narratives of Daniel and the Chaldæan historians are proved not contradictory. They are complementary the one to the other. The holy writer mentions that prince whose death was so evident an instance of Divine punishment; the others, that prince whose name alone they counted illustrious and worthy of a place in the annals of their country. And this silence on their part will possibly explain the confused version of the history found in the pages of Herodotus. The annalists communicated to him a portion only of the life of the last native Chaldæan king of Babylon: they omitted all mention of his ignominious death. Moreover, the account of Xenophon is now seen to agree with that of Daniel. While no one claims for the Cyropædia the dignity of history, yet it may be fairly conceded that historical facts form the basis of the narrative. Xenophon's romance, when stripped of its embellishments, may be assumed to contain a solid kernel of truth. And in

the case of the capture of Babylon, the history of an event of world-wide interest would certainly be transmitted to and by him in a form containing the real facts, however much those facts were distorted and magnified by extraneous additions. Xenophon, when travelling in those distant countries, learnt from the lips of the descendants of the besiegers, the facts he has introduced into his pages. When sifted of their chaff, the grain left behind is pure and true. The historian and the eye-witness are then agreed.

This view of the French Professor was put forth many years before the discovery of Rawlinson, and it will be seen to correspond in many points with the facts established by later cuneiform research. But of itself it is especially interesting as exhibiting the result attained by a mind anxious only for the discovery of truth, and bringing profound familiarity with oriental usages and peculiarities to assist the clear intuition of a devout spirit.

In 1854, Sir H. Rawlinson discovered at Mugheir (Ur of the Chaldees) cylinders containing memorials of Nabonnedus[1]. From these it appears that the eldest son of Nabonnedus was called Bil-shar-uzur, the identity of which name with Belshazzar is self-evident. He was the heir-apparent, and admitted to a share in the government, much in the same manner as Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar were connected[2]. This discovery proves what M. Quatremère had suspected, that no identification of

[1] These cylinders were taken from the corner of the Temple of the Moon. They are printed in fac-simile in Sir H. Rawlinson's *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia,* Vol. I. plate 68, col. I. This particular cylinder is in the British Museum. Vid. *Journ. Sacr. Lit.* p. 483 sq. 1855.

[2] Hincks reads it Binhlu-sar-yuzhur, (*Journ. Sacr. Lit.* pp. 405–7, Jan. 1862). Bil or Binhlu = Bel (Jupiter); -sar = a king; -uzur, the same termination as in Nergal-shar-ezer (Jer. xxxix. 3), Nebuchadn-ezzar. It can only be inferred from the cylinders that Belshazzar was heir-apparent to the crown. Then comes in the later and additional information of Daniel, that the young prince was actually king, i.e. joint-king with his father. (Hincks, pp. 409, 417.)

Belshazzar with any of the kings in the historical lists is at all necessary. And it decides the relationship, left an open question by the French savant. As father and son Nabonnedus and Belshazzar are both real distinct beings, co-eval with the capture of Babylon by Cyrus. And again, it tacitly supports the reconciliation of sacred and profane accounts, proposed by the French scholar, that the one so dissipated and abandoned perished in the midnight debauch, while the other escaped to Borsippa. These cuneatic inscriptions have in fact established three things[1]. 1. That Nabonnedus was king of Babylon at the time of the capture of the city. 2. That his eldest son was named Belshazzar. 3. That some impostors in the time of Darius Hystaspes, when heading the Babylonian revolts, styled themselves one after the other Nebuchadnezzar son of Nabonnedus. And this last fact is very important, for it leads by fair inference to two deductions: first, that Belshazzar the eldest son of Nabonnedus died in so open and notorious a manner, that no impostor could pretend to be he: secondly, that Nabonnedus, not being himself a member of the royal family, had married one of Nebuchadnezzar's daughters, and had called his younger son Nebuchadnezzar[2]. An usurper, for the reasons given by Quatremère, would probably seek to strengthen his position by marriage into the royal family, whether the wife he took were the widow of Neriglissar or some other daughter of Nebuchadnezzar. Such marriages formed part of the state policy of the time[3]. And if the narrative of Herodotus can be trusted here, the name of the mother of Belshazzar was Nitocris. But if she was the widow of Neriglissar, Belshazzar was only about sixteen years of age when Babylon was taken. This perhaps renders such

[1] Hincks, p. 409.

[2] Rawl. *Herod.* I. p. 525, n. 8.

[3] Rawl. *B. L.* v. n. 41. Thus Amasis married a daughter of Psammetik III. (Wilkinson in Rawl. *Herod.* II. 387); Atossa was married to Pseudo-Smerdis and Darius the son of Hystaspes successively (*Herod.* III. 68, 88).

identification improbable. That early age was too tender to permit the supposition that Belshazzar was then actually king, as described by Daniel. Undoubtedly Oriental usage does not make such a fact impossible. There is perhaps nothing unusual in an Asiatic prince being surrounded by 'princes, wives and concubines' at that early age. But it does not seem probable: and the supposition is unnecessary. It is more natural to believe that Nitocris was not the widow of Neriglissar[1]. Had she been so, the political reasons of Nabonnedus for marrying her would not have overbalanced the natural repugnance which must have existed between them. The stern laws of a conqueror might compel such an alliance; but, far from supporting the position of the usurper, I cannot but think that her presence would have been a continual bar to his progress with the people. The citizens of Babylon would see in her, not the wife of the usurper, but the widow of Neriglissar and the mother of that son to whom Neriglissar had left his crown and whom Nabonnedus had murdered. Many points lead rather to the belief that Nitocris was a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar, married to Nabonnedus before the death of Neriglissar. At the death of that prince, his son was left to the guardianship of his more immediate attendants, and by his friends (*ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων*, Berosus) that son was murdered. What more probable than that these included some of his relatives, and amongst them Nabonnedus? The conspirator, ambitious and crafty, had already secured by his marriage the possible succession to the throne. And with an assumption of retributive motives, he expelled the usurping family of Neriglissar by murdering Laborosoarchod, and brought in another branch of the royal family by that daughter of Nebuchadnezzar (Nitocris) whom he had married. Belshazzar, the issue of this marriage, was therefore

[1] Id. p. 488, (2nd ed.) addit. note.

born some time before the accession of his father to the throne. And when that event took place, Nabonnedus raised his son to the successive dignities of crown-prince and joint-king, as proved by the inscriptions and the indirect testimony of Daniel. His own position, he knew, would be materially strengthened by joining to himself that son whose blood was more royal than his own. The 'third year of Belshazzar' (viii. 1) is thus not limited to the sixteenth year of his age; and it does not require that he should have assumed the royal title at the early age of thirteen or fourteen. That his name has not yet been found with that of Nabonnedus upon the tablets as actually king, is no proof that he was not so; the single inscription alluded to is the only one hitherto discovered containing the name of Belshazzar, and it may be very fairly anticipated that future researches will supply further testimony to the fact.

As will be perceived, the cuneiform cylinder corroborates the reason so happily suggested by Quatremère for the title given to Daniel by Belshazzar. Higher than 'third' ruler the prophet could not be. And the title of 'son of Nebuchadnezzar' given to Belshazzar by the queen, is also satisfactorily explained. Son he was not in the strictest sense of the term, but grandson[1] he was, and in this way again the prophecy of Jeremiah was accomplished. By these means the difficulties connected with the name of Bel-

[1] The word 'son' is used in Scripture in a very wide sense. Laban is called the 'son of Nahor' (Gen. xxix. 5). In reality he was his grandson (xxviii. 2—5; comp. xxii. 20—23). Jehu is the 'son of Nimshi' (1 Kings xix. 16), and 'the son of Jehoshaphat, the son of Nimshi' (2 Kings ix. 2, 14). In statements of a genealogical character the following forms might be multiplied indefinitely. 'Shebuel (a contemporary of David) the son of Gershom, the son of Moses' (1 Chron. xxvi. 24). 'Jesus Christ the son of David the son of Abraham' (Matt. i. 1). (Rawl. *B. L.* n. 40, p. 443.) The 'Merodach-Baladan' of Scripture (Isai. xxxix. 1), described as 'son of Baladan,' is entitled in the Inscriptions, 'son of Yagina,' Baladan being the name of an ancestor. And in the East, the term 'son of' continues to denote connection generally either by descent or succession. (Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, 1. p. 613.)

shazzar are altogether removed. The narrative of Daniel is shewn to be independent and more purely personal than that of the historians; and yet it by no means contradicts them. The one wrote as an eye-witness, the others as they were informed. It was natural that the prophet should preserve facts more directly relating to that one of the two chief actors with whom he was brought into contact; it was to be expected that the Chaldee archives would record the name, not of the voluptuous, but of the more princely sovereign.

Thus it is that after 2300 years the name of the one, Belshazzar, known only through the pages of Daniel, is discovered upon contemporary monuments, and the name of the other, Nabonnedus, is equally recovered. Does it seem extravagant to ask that the justice, so willingly granted to Berosus, should be accorded to Daniel? The correctness of the Chaldee historian is illustrated by these discoveries, and his authority proportionately increased. It surely is time that the same measure of fairness should be meted out to Daniel. Had his work not been a book of Holy Scripture, that justice would have been paid to him long ago[1].

I pass on now to the second point. Who was Darius the Mede? The scriptural description is brief but very distinct. He was the son of Ahasuerus, and of the seed of the Medes. He succeeded Belshazzar at the age of

[1] That this is the sore point with some, and those, men who once thought and knew better things, may be seen from Davidson's method of treating this whole question, III. 190–1. He classes under seven different heads his objections to the cuneiform deductions of Rawlinson and Hincks. And the parent to every one of these objections, light and grave, critical and uncritical, is discovered in his prefatory remonstrance that R. and H. 'always proceed on the assumption of Daniel's unquestionable correctness.' Undoubtedly they do, and always will. The belief of ages and the principles of healthy criticism both maintain it. Nothing in the latest work of their most modern opponent disproves that correctness.

sixty-two years (v. 31; ix. 1; xi. 1). If, as is most natural, that succession was immediate, a Babylonian was replaced by a Median dynasty. And this fact is attested by Josephus (*Antiq.* x. § 11. 4) and Xenophon (*Cyrop.* i. § 5. 2). According to these historians Cyrus conquered Babylon for his father-in-law Cyaxares II., the son of Astyages, and did not come to the throne of Babylon as an independent prince till after his death. Josephus mentions that Darius was known to the Greeks by another name; and this, it has been concluded, was 'Cyaxares,' the name given to him by Xenophon. This identification is apparently supported by the indication in Daniel (v. 31, vi. 28), that first of all a Median and then a Persian dynasty succeeded the Babylonian. And it agrees with the age attributed to Darius by the prophet. From Xenophon it appears that he was an old man at the time of the capture of the city, too old to have an heir. When he gave his daughter in marriage to Cyrus, and with her Media as a dowry, he observed that he had no son born in marriage. But, on the other hand, it is remarkable that Herodotus (i. 130), Ctesias, and Isaiah (xl.) know nothing of a *second* Cyaxares between Astyages and Cyrus[1]. In the tradition followed by Herodotus, who adds parenthetically that he was acquainted with two other versions of the story, the Persian tribes are represented as subject to the Medes, till Cyrus, a bold Achæmenian adventurer, threw off the yoke, and deposed the Median king Astyages, his grandfather on his mother's side. Astyages died childless, and with him ended the Median dynasty. Cyrus is, therefore, according to Herodotus, the sole and unassisted conqueror of Babylon,

[1] The succession of kings as given by Herodotus and the canon is, for the times in question,

Cyaxares reigned 40 years,
Astyages ..... 35 .....
Cyrus ..... 29 ..... (Nieb. p. 66).

and the first king of the Medo-Persian dynasty. An appeal in support of this view is generally made to the opening verse of the Apocryphal writing 'Bel and the Dragon.' "After the death of King Astyages, the kingdom came to Cyrus the Persian."

These contradictions, real or apparent, have tested the ingenuity and scholarship of critics as fully as the sister question concerning Belshazzar. The literature of the whole subject is so immense that, as before, I may perhaps be permitted to pass over with a mere allusion those views which are now either entirely surrendered or but feebly supported. In addition to the identification with Cyaxares II., Darius the Mede has been supposed the same as Neriglissar, Darius son of Hystaspes, Nabonnedus[1], Astyages, or some Median prince otherwise almost unknown to history. Of all these identifications, the first and the last two alone retain any hold upon modern opinion.

a. *Darius the Mede identified with Cyaxares II.*

This opinion is accepted by some of the first critics of the past and present day. After being combated and refuted with more or less success, it has been fully adopted by Vitringa, Dom Clement, Bertholdt, Gesenius, Winer, Keil, Hengstenberg, Rosenmüller, Hävernick, and Browne[2], under one form: and by Delitzsch, Schulze, Baihinger, Auberlen, and Zündel[3] under another. It rests mainly upon the narratives of Josephus, Xenophon, the Armenian

[1] Rawlinson, *B. L.* p. 171, and notes. Quatremère disposes effectively of these three identifications, pp. 368–73, 399 sq. In England the latest advocate of the identification of Darius with Darius Hyst. is Mr Bosanquet. Readers of the *Journal of Sacred Literature* will find the arguments drawn out in a series of papers from Jan. 1856, and onwards.

[2] *Ordo Sæclorum*, p. 175.

[3] Schulze, *Cyrus der Grosse*, (*Stud. u. Krit.* 1853), p. 685 sq. Zündel, p. 37. Baihinger, Herzog, *R. E.* s.v. 'Darius (the Mede).' Delitzsch, id. s.v. 'Daniel.'

Eusebius, and a few lines from the *Persæ* of Æschylus. The difference of names is certainly no valid objection to this opinion: both 'Darius' and 'Cyaxares' are appellatives and titles of sovereignty. Darius corresponds to the Greek ἐρξείης, 'co-ercer:' it was a name probably assumed by monarchs at the time of their accession to the throne[1]. Again, Cyaxares and Ahasuerus are identical. Scaliger[2] first noticed this. From the more simple form Xerxes arose the forms of Ar-xerxes, Kyar-xerxes, Cyaxares. In Hebrew characters the name was written אחשורוש, Akhasverosh (Ahasuerus), or without the prosthetic א, Khashverosh, Khshversh. The cuneiform discoveries of Champollion and Grotefend have confirmed this identification. The forms Khshvershe or Khshersh are found upon the Inscriptions, and the resemblance to the Greek Ξερξ is at once self-evident. The appended letters and diacritical points lead in the one case to Cyaxares, in the other to Ahasuerus[3].

The Armenian chronicle of Eusebius supports the main fact of Josephus and Xenophon, that a Mede occupied the throne of Babylon before Cyrus, and appends to their account the name Darius, in itself an important addition. Eusebius is quoting a passage from Abydenus, relative to the capture of Nabonnedus, and his translation to Carmania by Cyrus. And to this statement the Armenian chronicle adds a clause that Darius the king drove him out of the same region[4]. What Darius, it is asked, can this be, but Darius the Mede, that prince whom the Medes and Persians raised to the throne of Babylon with the consent of Cyrus their commander? And the fact thus vaguely noticed is said to be accordant with the oracular declaration placed in the mouth of Nebuchadnezzar by Abydenus.

[1] Baihinger, *l. c.* adduces the instance of Darius Ochus.

[2] *De Emend. Temporum*, VI. 587. Vitringa, *Observ.* Vol. I. p. 103.

[3] Von Lengerke, p. 232. Nieb. *Gesch. Ass.* p. 44. Browne, p. 175.

[4] The passage is given in Browne, *l. c.*, and in Zündel, p. 29.

The ally of Cyrus, said the king, shall be a Mede, the boast of the Assyrians. The tradition recorded by Æschylus within sixty years of this time is alleged to indicate the same fact. And his lines are in one sense valuable, because illustrating the current opinion of the well-informed Athenians of his age:

> Μῆδος γὰρ ἦν ὁ πρῶτος ἡγεμὼν στρατοῦ·
> ἄλλος δ' ἐκείνου παῖς τόδ' ἔργον ἤνυσε,
> φρένες γὰρ αὐτοῦ θυμὸν οἰακοστρέφουν·
> τρίτος δ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Κῦρος, κ.τ.λ.
>
> *Persæ*, 771—773, ed. Blomf.

In arguing upon these data, the advocates of this identification do not deny that, Cyrus was the principal actor in that capture of Babylon which first introduces a notice of Darius into Scripture. And the silence of Herodotus concerning him is variously explained. If it was the practice of the Greek historian, as Gesenius thought, to mention men of mark only,—the shortness of the reign of Darius, and his old age when it commenced, explain the omission. Or, if the Chaldee annalists, consulted by Herodotus, only transmitted to him information concerning their heroes, the weak pliable character of Darius would almost of necessity exclude him from the tablets commemorative of the world-renowned Cyrus.

But there appear to be insuperable objections at least to that form of this identification which makes Cyaxares *son* of Astyages. The table of kings required to suit such identification must enumerate in chronological succession Cyaxares I., Astyages, Cyaxares II., and Cyrus. And this succession depends too entirely upon the narrative of Xenophon to be trustworthy[1]. In this particular point the

[1] Quatremère, p. 364, Nieb. p. 61. "Wenn man die Kyropädie als Geschichtsquelle benutzen will, so muss man auch aus Télémaque Heroengeschichte, aus Rasselas und Usong Abyssinische und Persische Geschichte schreiben, oder nach Thiers die Geschichte Bonapartés. Die deutsche Geschichtsforschung wäre der unglückseligste Sisyphus, wenn ich hier die Beweise für die historische

light and pleasant historian seems to be more romantic than usual. After every concession made, his history ought to contain real and solid facts visible through the romantic halo with which they are enveloped; and if the existence of this Cyaxares II. son of Astyages could be established, the rhetorical ornamentation and the pleasant reading of the narrative might at once be placed to the credit of the writer. But unfortunately Xenophon appears to have taken the trouble to prove himself wrong[1]. In two passages of the Return of the 10,000, he mentions that two cities, situated on the eastern bank of the Tigris, were completely ruined when the Persians dispossessed the Medes of the empire of Asia. This happened but once, when Astyages succumbed to the victorious arms of Cyrus. Consequently, the Cyropedia, when representing the Empire of the East passing calmly and peaceably from Astyages to his son Cyaxares, and from Cyaxares to Cyrus, can only be reproducing a fictitious and romantic embellishment. Stronger still is the next objection to this identification. Daniel distinctly calls Darius the son of Ahasuerus; consequently he was not the son of Astyages. The names are too dissimilar[2] to be confounded by a contemporary and an eye-witness of the events narrated.

M. Quatremère founds a further objection to this identification upon grounds deduced from the moral aspect of those early times. It is a well-known truth as regards the past, that while the memory of the cruel and wicked seems imperishable, the benevolent schemes and noble actions of the good have stamped their marks upon a few generations only. The name of the heathen monarch who devoted his life to the welfare of his subjects has too often perished from the page of ancient history.

Werthlosigkeit der Kyropädie erst zusammenstetten müsste. Es ist genug Cicero's worte (ad Q. fr. I. 1, 8) auzufuhren: 'Cyrus ille a Xenophonte non ad historiæ fidem scriptus est, sed ad effigiem justi imperii.'" [1] Quatr. *l. c.*

[2] Id. p. 365. Browne allows that the identity of Astyages and Ahas. is doubtful, (p. 175).

This is not the case with that of the despot. The tyrant who terrified his age by acts of pitiless cruelty and brutal ferocity is usually known to posterity; and the fame sought while living is accorded to him when dead, still associated with deeds of blood and written in ghastly characters. This was the case with Astyages. Centuries have rolled by: revolutions have overthrown dynasty after dynasty: hosts of marauders have depopulated and left their tracks of blood upon the plains of Asia, but throughout every change one name has preserved its hateful reputation; and that name is Astyages. Under its Armenian form Adjiahak[1], or its Arabic form Dah-hak, it is the prototype of despotism and savage cruelty. The poets and historians of the East have reserved for the 'Biting Snake[2]' the same niche in the Temple of Blood that the West has assigned to the Emperor Nero. And in the oriental portraiture of this prince are to be traced the traits of that vicious character attributed by Herodotus to Astyages. The pages of the Eastern writers, however coloured by their loves and hates, however marked by flights of poetic power, however obscured by an evidently imperfect acquaintance with the history of the Medes, illustrate the life of a tyrant such as the Greek historian has painted. The stern facts stand out from the midst of their poetry as beacons of history. Thus the historian of the East points to the mythologi-

[1] In the *Zend-Avesta* this name is read Aji-dahak, the Zohak of the *Shah-Nameh*, Ferdusi's great epic poem (Burnouf, *Journ. Asiat.* p. 496 seq. (1844). 4th Ser. Max Muller, in Bunsen's *Outlines of Univ. Hist.* I. pp. 123—4).

[2] This is Rawlinson's translation of the name. He considers it a title borne by all the old Scythic kings of the country, and adopted from them by the Median monarchs. The Armenian Moses of Chorene expressly identifies Astyages with that prince of the mythological traditions of Persia who received the name of Dah-hak and the surname of Biourasp (Quatr. p. 367). Compare Ferdusi's description of Zohak: 'Ce monstre a tête de serpent. Il ne pouvait enseigner que l'amour du mal, que la dévastation, le meurtre et l'incendie . . . Il n'avait aucune vertu de roi, aucune loi, aucune foi.' (*S. N.* ed. and transl. by Mohl, I. pp. 69—71. Par. 1836).

cal Feridoun[1]; at one moment crushed and submissive under the iron heel of Dah-hak, at another welcomed in triumph as the deliverer of his country from a hated yoke. A cry of joy goes up from the whole land when the tyrant is banished to the caves of Demavend. And who is this Feridoun but Cyrus, victorious over Astyages, as Herodotus has described him? What is this narrative of expulsion, but the oriental dress of the subsequent act of Cyrus in sparing Astyages and removing him to the government of Hyrcania, as stated by Ctesias[2]?—If then the poetry and the testimony of the historians of the East tend to confirm the narratives of Herodotus and Ctesias, how can that of Xenophon be admitted? What becomes of the gentleness he attributes to Astyages? What is to be said of his mythical son? What of many little romantic addenda of a similar character? The conclusion seems evident, that his statements are more interesting than instructive, his characters less real than ideal.

With reference also to the passage of Æschylus, it must be confessed that the words are hardly applicable to the supposed character of Cyaxares II. The language of the Greek poet is little applicable to a man of weakly mind and declining health. Of itself, it is far too indefinite to permit any certain application to any particular

[1] This—d'Anquétil's rendering of the Phredoun of Neriosengh's Sanscr. Vers. of the *Zend-Av.*—is the Aryo-Persian Thraêtana, identified by Burnouf (*Op. cit.* p. 497) with the Trita of the *Vedas.* Scheuchzer ('Ethnogr. Hist. d. Ass. u. Babels,' p. 488, Vol. XVI. *Zeitschr. der D. M. G.*) finds a form of the name in the Tartan of Scripture (e. g. Isai. xx. 1). The different traditions concerning Feridoun and Zohak are collected by Görres, *Das Heldenbuch d. Iran.* I. p. 16 seq. Berl. 1820. Duncker, *Gesch. d. Alterth.* II. p. 446 seq.; and with special reference to the Zendic and Vedic accounts, by Roth, *Zeitschr. d. D. M. G.* II. p. 216 seq. Ferdusi's version of the history is given in Mohl, I. pp. 77 seq., 115 seq.; and, in a shorter form, in Atkinson's edition of the *S. N.* Lond. 1832. (Orient. Transl. Fund.)

[2] For different views upon this, the Pischadian, and the traditional dynasties generally of the ancient kings of Persia, see Malcolm, *Hist. of Persia,* chaps. I—IV. Lond. 1815. Creuzer, *Religions de l'Antiquité,* I. p. 310 seq., and Guignaut's notes and reff. p. 681 seq.

hero. So also with the passage in the Armenian chronicle. The translation given above of the appended words is perhaps the most favourable that can be advanced in support of the present opinion; but the passage from its brevity is confessedly obscure; and it cannot be said to be made less so by the subsequent admission that 'Abydenus is a confused writer[1].' In the opinion of Quatremère, the reference there to Darius is not to Darius the Mede, but to Darius Hystaspes[2].

There is another form of this opinion which makes Cyaxares II. not the son but the *brother* of Astyages, a posthumous child of Cyaxares I.; or, once more, not the son but the *nephew* of Astyages[3]. This possibly indicates a solution of the point; but I would defer alluding to it till the second identification has been examined.

b. *Darius the Mede identified with Astyages.*

This is the opinion of Niebuhr and Westcott[4], and it may be said to stand or fall with their opinion upon Belshazzar. As in the former view, Darius is the personal name of the king; so that the formula 'Darius the Mede the son of Ahasuerus,' is read, Astyages the Mede the son of Cyaxares I. To this there is no objection as regards the use of the names. The Greeks seem to have lost the name of Darius altogether. It is found upon the Persian Monuments in the form Darayawush, and upon the Tataric as Tariyavaus[5]; and traces of an earlier Darius than

[1] Browne, 176.

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 382.

[3] Vid. note 3, p. 162.

[4] Nieb. *Gesch. Ass.* p. 91 sq. Westcott, Smith's *Bibl. Dict.* Art. 'Darius (the Mede).'

[5] Nieb. p. 45. Vid. Suidas, s.v. Δαρεικούς, (ed. Gaisf. Vol. I. p. 867), *οὐκ ἀπὸ Δαρείου τοῦ Ξέρξου πατρὸς, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἑτέρου τινος παλαιοτέρου βασιλέως ὠνομάσθησαν.* The scholiast referred to, is that on Arist. *Eccles.* 589. This was also the opinion of Harpocration, Vol. I. p. 45, Leipz. Wesseling, *Observatt.* Vol. II. ch. xxii. p. 177, is opposed to this opinion, but his arguments are not convincing to himself.

Darius Hystaspes, are with justice discovered in a passage of the Scholiast on Aristophanes. If it is not found in Herodotus, its absence is no disproof of the real existence of princes so called. Certainly also at the time of Evil-Merodach (Belshazzar) Astyages king of Media was still king. But his reign over Babylon could only have lasted *one* year, for chronological facts demand his expulsion by Cyrus a year after the death of Evil-Merodach[1]. This limited reign is thought to be supported by the mention in Daniel of the first year only of Darius (ix. 1). Cyrus when he conquered Astyages deprived him of regal power, either permitting him to retain the title from his relationship to him[2], or removing him to Hyrcania (Ctesias). It has been usually supposed, adds Niebuhr, that Cyrus succeeded Darius at Babylon immediately, but this is not stated by Daniel in so many words. And of course to allow this, would be fatal to his theory.

There are many objections to this view, defended though it is by the most marked ability. For instance: the stress laid upon the first year of Darius is too great. By far the more natural impression would be, that that reign certainly lasted more than one year, but was not prolonged beyond a second[3]. Again; the silence of the historians must be felt to be unexplained. It was quite possible for the Chaldee annalists to omit all mention of the weak and short-lived Darius in comparison with the vassal-king Neriglissar, but there are other omissions which oppose themselves strongly to Niebuhr's theory. The capture of Babylon was no common exploit; and the character of Astyages was notorious and warlike. Can it be supposed that this act of one of the greatest monarchs of Media over the greatest city of

[1] These are supplied by Niebuhr himself, p. 92.

[2] Mandané the daughter of Astyages married Cambyses, and Cyrus was the issue of the marriage. (*Herod.* I. 107–10.)

[3] Quatrem. p. 369.

the world would altogether escape the inquisitiveness of Xenophon, or the more sober research of Herodotus? Annalists might seek to disguise it, but that capture involved the presence of a large foreign army in the neighbouring provinces; it entailed misery, death, and destruction upon thousands; and it can hardly be believed that the remembrance of the event would have been eradicated by a capture some twenty years later. The hypothesis further requires that the first year of Neriglissar, given in the Canon and Josephus, should be taken as the first year of his vassal-kingship, not as that of his sole reign; and this seems altogether contrary to precedent in those lists. Berosus again, though brief, is so careful in the specification of the great events of those times, that it seems impossible that he should have omitted *the* very event which brought Neriglissar into power. He records that murder which paved the way to the throne, but omits all mention not only of the prince who helped him, but of any extraneous help whatever. He does not hesitate to record the capture of Babylon by Cyrus B.C. 538; why should he have hesitated to speak of the previous capture in 559? Remembering also the character of Cyrus, does it seem probable that for some twenty years he would have absented himself from the richest city which ever fell into his hands? would he have quietly looked on while others were fighting over the spoil he had gained? Between 559—38 there occurred the deaths of Neriglissar, the murder of the child Laborosoarchod, and the usurpation of Nabonnedus: none of which, on the hypothesis in question, called for the interference of Cyrus, or hurried his return to the rebellious city. This view of an early capture, so necessary to Niebuhr's opinion, must in fact be felt to be fatal to it. It is unrecorded where omission is inexplicable and contrary to parallel usage; it was undertaken by a prince whose character is as dissimilar as possible to that of the Darius of Scripture;

it involves an undue stress upon minor incidents of the Biblical narrative; and, what is perhaps of some consideration, it finds no support in any of the cuneatic writings of the period. The opinion of the German critic is ingenious, but theoretical beyond the licence of theory; like his opinion upon Belshazzar, it excites opposition from the numerous hypotheses it requires.

If then it be said that these explanations fail, the question naturally arises what explanation can be offered? The inscriptions have not yet produced the missing link, as they have for Belshazzar; how is the problem to be solved? I believe, ultimately, by the means found successful in the former case. Cuneiform discovery was anticipated there in a remarkable manner, by an argument founded upon the principle of non-identification; and that principle again suggests the most satisfactory solution attainable. Every resemblance as yet noticed requires the adoption of arbitrary and numerous assumptions. These re-act injuriously upon the whole question, and too frequently compromise historical credibility. The features of the Darius the Mede of Scripture are barely to be recognised in the alternately pacific and bellicose characters presented. There is manliness therefore as well as wisdom in the opinion of Quatremère and Rawlinson, that Darius the Mede is an historic character of whose existence no other record has as yet been found except that contained in Scripture. It may be thought that of itself this testimony is quite enough. And so it is to those who look upon the Book of Daniel as of higher value than the works of Berosus, Herodotus, and Xenophon. But there are many who do not love a blank in Scripture any more than a contradiction between sacred and profane history. And they will quote that blank as a sign of undoubted spuriousness, though of the unfairness of this, there cannot be two opinions. Probably therefore no solution that can be offered is likely to be acceptable to some minds, so long as it

rests mainly upon theory. Yet a theory founded upon the principle already proved correct;—a theory insisting upon no blind acceptation of its statements, but thoroughly consistent with probability;—a theory constructed and elaborated with an ability derived from long and familiar acquaintance with oriental habits,—has been offered. Of itself it induces conviction, and cuneiform discovery will sooner or later establish it. This theory I would state, with the assistance of its ablest exponent, M. Quatremère[1].

A few years ago M. des Vignoles[2] advanced the opinion that Darius the Mede was a Median prince to whom Cyrus had given Babylon in reward for his services. But to reduce Darius to the rank of a satrap was felt to be inconsistent with the dignity accorded to him by Daniel. There can be no doubt that Darius was a king in the usual sense of the term. A satrap would not have possessed the power of dividing the Empire into 120 provinces (vi. 1); and the request made to Darius by the Chaldæans (vi. 8), while fully consonant to custom if Darius were king, is impossible if he were only an officer of state. Cyrus, so jealous of any infringement of his authority, would soon have resented any such act. And the weak and timorous character of the Darius of Scripture does not lend itself to the supposition that he would imperil his life for the sake of singularity.

The primary fact upon which the historical question turns — the conquest of Astyages by Cyrus — is undisputed. But the slightest acquaintance with the political aspect of the age requires a certain restriction upon the plenary nature of this conquest. Cyrus was rather a liberator than a conqueror. He took up arms at the invitation of an irritated aristocracy; and assumed the character of the champion of liberty against a tyrannical despot. This policy divided the Median nation. In addi-

[1] Quatrem. p. 372 sq.

[2] Œuvres, II. p. 510 sq.

tion to the mercenaries, who ranged themselves under his colours, volunteers flocked to him in the hope of regaining their freedom. This left to Astyages those only who were bound to him by personal and interested motives; and thus it was that in two battles the whole of Media surrendered to Cyrus. He was regarded as a deliverer, not as an invader; and the soldiers that would not fight for him refused to fight against him. But with the defeat of Astyages commenced the real difficulties of his new position. Cyrus had proved himself a warrior, he had now to achieve a triumph as a diplomatist. He had to convince the Medes that their honour as a nation was intact; that though their king was a prisoner, they were free; that far from being humbled they would be strengthened by the Persian alliance he now proposed to them. 'L'Union c'est la force' was the proclamation of a modern Emperor. The same principle inspired Cyrus when he told the Medes that they would be more renowned, more invincible than ever, as Medo-Persians. His actions verified his speech. Cyrus placed in the hands of the Medes, at least in appearance, the supreme conduct of national affairs. His Persians adopted their costume. Diplomatic acts, decrees and ordinances, were couched in the peculiar formula, 'the laws of the Medes and Persians,' the place of honour being assigned to the former. And by the time of Esther the names had become inseparable. The formula was regarded as significant of the dominant power of the East. Greek and Latin writers adopted the terminology; and later still the expression, 'Iranian,' analogous to Medo-Persian, established itself in the East in the reign of the Sassanides, and was adopted by the historians of Armenia[1]. This priority of rank was in fact to be expected, when the immense extent of the Median empire is considered in comparison

[1] Quatrem. p. 375. He refers for proof of this to a Mémoire read before l'Académie des Belles-lettres.

with the little province of Persia, the hereditary kingdom of Cyrus. In any coalition formed between the two nations, the Mede would of necessity occupy the first place, though the Persian was actually the dominant and directing power. And this the prophets illustrate when alluding to that 'spirit of the kings of the Medes' (Jer. li. 11, Isai. xiii. 17), which should be stirred against Babylon. The united army, though headed by the Persian hero, was designated by its larger and more comprehensive title.

With the conquest of Babylon arose a fresh difficulty. The position of Cyrus became delicate in the extreme. One false step might imperil his future prospects. Ambition, victory, and conscious superiority, prompted the demand for his recognition as king of the captive city; but a second and more prudent thought insisted upon caution in trying too far the jealousy of the Mede, flushed and intoxicated with success. The Persian aspired to the throne of Asia, but the time was not yet ripe for the accomplishment of his wish. To press it at that moment would probably have turned against him the nation by whose aid he had won his fresh laurels. Median prejudice, national vanity, and his own insecure position, combined in forcing upon him a temporizing and cautious policy. And this he adopted. With an assumption of disinterestedness he turned to the Medes, and left it to them to select a prince fitted to be saluted as sovereign of this their mightiest conquest. For himself he would reserve the rank and title of lieutenant of the new sovereign. It can easily be conceived that Cyrus decided the selection of a king; or, by a slight manipulation of those reins of government he in reality grasped, directed the popular vote as he himself wished. At any rate the suffrages of the electors were given in favour of a prince of illustrious, probably of royal[1],

[1] "Rien n'empêcherait de croire que Darius fut, en effet, non pas le fils du roi Astyage, car il est appelé par Daniel fils d'Assuérus, mais neveu d'Asty-

origin, but advanced in years and childless. He was a Mede by nation; in character, mild and pacific; a prince, in short, who was contented with the title of king, and willing to resign the virtual authority to the Persian chieftain who had raised him to the throne. This king of Babylon was 'Darius the Mede, son of Ahasuerus;' a prince whose name Daniel has preserved, and whose character—good, humane, though easily corrupted by superstitious flattery and still darker insinuations,—was precisely of that malleable description required by the king-maker Cyrus. Darius established himself in Babylon; and the warlike Persian again went forth in his career of victory, keeping himself before the world by a succession of conquests indicative of his own generalship, and flattering to the national vanity. After two years Darius died childless, and Cyrus became the legitimate inheritor of the empire of the East. The time seemed now come for his undisturbed assumption of regal power. The Medes might still look with disfavour upon his Persian origin[1]; but the objection must have lost very much of its force; and moreover to entertain it was impossible. Cyrus was the idol of his troops, and an object of admiration to the East. Everything contributed to point him out as the proper king; and the Medes accepted what they could not prevent. Nationality learnt to console itself with the sop cast down to its vanity. At the death of Darius, therefore, Cyrus the Persian became king of Babylon, and counted the years of his reign from the time of his accession.

age." Quatrem. p. 371. He does not himself adopt this suggestion; but that, or the opinion of Delitzsch, &c. quoted on p. 167, may be accepted as the most unobjectionable identification hitherto advanced. Vid. next note.

[1] It was contrary to Median custom that an heir to the throne through the female line should succeed while a descendant through the male branch could be found (Spiegel, *Êrân.* p. 56, Berl. 1863). If Darius the Mede was connected with the royal family of Astyages by the male branch, he would necessarily be preferred before Cyrus.

In what has been here advanced there is nothing to contradict the further assumption that Cyrus bore the title of king of Persia during the reign of Darius[1]. Allusion has been already made to the existence of vassal-kings; and it is a fact familiar to every reader of ancient oriental history that some such arrangement was always in force. Each province of the great central government had its petty king. He was endued with absolute power over his own subjects, yet bound to recognise the suzerainty of the supreme lord, to contribute to his coffers, and fight, if required, under his standard. The feudal tenures of the Middle Ages recur naturally to the memory as a Western adaptation of the Eastern practice; and in Persia such kings as the kings of Atropatenè, Bactria and Elymais, acknowledged without dispute the supremacy of their liege lord the Suzerain of Asia. That such was actually the case in the days of Darius and Cyrus is perhaps supported by a few casual words in Daniel. "Darius took the kingdom," says the prophet (v. 31. קבל מלכותא); and the word in the original קַ, supports the opinion that he received it from another[2]. The use of the word in vii. 18 is the best illustration of it here. There the Saints of the Most High take the kingdom either through the power of God, or directly from his hands (ויקבלון מ); it was by no act of their own. So Darius received his throne from Cyrus, the real holder of the gift. Again in ix. 1, Darius is described as "made king (המלך) over the realm of the Chaldæans;" and the somewhat parallel usage of the causative conjugation in 1 Kings i. 43, would seem to refer the act of king-making to the agency of another in both cases. Naturally the great objection to this view of Darius the Mede is the silence of all the historians, Greek or Latin. But this

[1] Quatrem. p. 378.

[2] Auberlen, *Der Prophet Daniel*, p. 218 (2te Aufl.); Rawl. *B. L.* n. 46, p. 445. Bleek's objections to this are not convincing (*Jahrb. f. Deutsche Theologie*, Vol. v. p. 65, n. 1, 1860).

objection is very much removed by a recollection of Eastern practices[1].

It appears certain that Darius was king only in name. All the real power belonged to Cyrus. The inhabitants of the East looked up to the Persian as their actual Sovereign, without much thought of the feeble prince resident at Babylon. The Persians themselves, jealous of the Medes and proud of their chief, took care to represent him as the real monarch; and it required no great exertion to make his fame eclipse that of his rival. As regards the historians, it must be remembered that Herodotus in all probability never went as far as Babylon, but gathered from the Persians the facts he relates[2]. He would not hear from them the name of Darius. At Tyre, or in some city of Asia, he learnt from the Chaldæans topographical notices of Babylon and other matters which he embodied in his history. When he speaks of the information he had obtained from Persian writers well acquainted with the history of their nation, he was not obliged to go to Persia itself for it. At the time he wrote, Asia Minor, Phœnicia, and Egypt, were under the successors of Cyrus; and in the greater towns of those countries he would meet with Persians sufficiently acquainted with Greek to give him the information he sought. And neither Chaldæan nor Persian would hesitate to exaggerate or suppress facts as they affected their distinctive nationalities. Xenophon most probably did come into contact with facts of a more authentic character. In the course of his journey along the Tigris he must have met with many Medes capable of giving to him historical

[1] It is worthy also of notice that the whole Achæmenian period, replete with its heroes and glorious events, passed so completely out of the thoughts of the Persian people, that not one name remained to them. The very name of the great Darius (Hystaspes) came back to the Persians through the Greek traditions concerning Alexander (Spiegel, *Êrân*, p. 88). Can it be a matter of wonder that the short reign of Darius the Mede should have perished in this general oblivion?

[2] This was also the opinion of Des Vignoles. Quatrem. p. 379.

information. But, for some unexplained reason, his acquisitions proved worse than useless. Whether his informants were not trustworthy, or but imperfectly acquainted with the real facts;—whether the historian misunderstood them, or suffered his credulity to overbalance his judgment; or whether he selected facts which he could embellish without regard to accuracy:—certainly he has substituted for Darius the Mede a Cyaxares unknown to history; and he has woven around that king nothing more substantial than the web of a light and interesting romance.

But is it quite so certain that Darius the Mede is unknown to the ancient writers? The Scholiast to Aristophanes clearly contains a notice of no small value[1]. The Darics, the current coin of the Persian empire, did not derive their name from Darius Hystaspes, but from a prince of the same name of more ancient date. Who was this but Darius the Mede? So thought Quatremère[2]; so think Niebuhr and Westcott. And it would seem a very probable supposition that Cyrus had his coinage for his particular states. The master of the Empire, the lord of all Asia, was not likely to content himself with that of the states he had subdued. May it not be presumed that, after his conquest of Babylon, he employed one of the most speedy means of familiarising the inhabitants of the East with the new dynasty, by an issue of money figured, in deference to Darius, with the effigy of that prince, and bearing his name and superscription? In course of time the original identification of the Daric was forgotten. The name of Darius the Mede was little known in his own neighbourhood, and still less in foreign parts, and the Daric was attributed to the more famous Darius Hystaspes, a prince whose exploits shed a lustre of glory upon the Persian arms. And if Darius the Mede governed the Medes and Persians together, as Daniel describes him, this circumstance explains his division of his whole territory into 120 satrapies. It was,

[1] Vid. p. 168, n. 5. [2] p. 381.

in fact, a similar division to this which was revived and expanded by the more sagacious Hystaspes, after falling into abeyance during the reigns of Cambyses and Smerdis Magus[1].

Looking back now upon the whole of the questions connected with this chapter, an impartial examination of them cannot but induce the conviction that the objections brought against it are in one case met, in the other confronted by a theory of the most satisfactory character. Cuneiform Inscriptions have solved the difficulty about Belshazzar. Their confirmation is all that is still required to transform into fact the view of M. Quatremère upon Darius the Mede, or one founded upon his principles of interpretation. Let it be but remembered that the prophet Daniel was not writing a chronicle of his times;—that he passes from the reign of one king to another without mentioning intermediate events;—and that of those reigns he selects only facts here and there;—and there will no longer be an outcry against this or that omission. A juster spirit will refuse to brand with fraud a writer who makes no claim to the consecutiveness and precision of a professed historian. Had this chapter proceeded from a Maccabæan forger, he would not have left its concluding verses in their present terse and condensed form. Posterity would have received the record with every obscure allusion removed, every blank filled up, even if the aim of the romancer had been of an essentially parabolic character.

§ 6. Ch. vi.

The objections made to this Chapter are numerous, but not very important. The decree issued by Darius condemning to the den of lions 'any one asking a petition of

[1] Quatrem. p. 413. Rawl. suggests a slightly different explanation of this division into satrapies. *B. L.* p. 172.

God or man, save of the King, for thirty days,' is denounced as 'incredible and inhuman.' And how, it is asked, could the princes and satraps of the Babylonian kingdom have been absent from their provincial duties for so long a time? The story of the lions' den is further criticised as something very extraordinary. It was of the shape of a cistern, says Bleek, narrowing towards the surface, and closed at the top by a stone: how could man or lion live there without light and air[1]?

Now it may be assumed that the facts narrated in this chapter followed closely upon the accession of Darius to the throne. His reign was very short, at the longest computation under two years; and of that reign Daniel has recorded the opening events only. The history of those events is briefly this. The ceremonies attendant upon the coronation, the feasting and entertainment consequent upon the accession of a new monarch, were nearly ended;—the princes and nobles were preparing to withdraw with their families to their respective satrapies;—when it was determined to pay one final act of respect to the Sovereign. His person, more sacred to the Persian than that of the Czar to the Russian serf, was to be made the object of the highest human worship. The "presidents, the governors, the princes, the counsellors, and the captains consulted together to establish a royal statute," and this was its tenor: that no petition should be offered save to the King for a space of thirty days. The unsuspecting Darius, weak and anxious to please, accepted the flattery and signed the decree. From that moment it was irrevocable, according to the laws of the Medes and Persians. But now appeared the reason for this fulsome adulation. Under a show of religious attachment to the royal person, there had been elaborated a scheme of the deepest malignity against the highest officer of the realm. Among the

[1] Bleek, p. 600. Davidson, pp. 175, 192. Baxmann, p. 470.

political arrangements carried out by the King, there was one which had caused deep irritation. Three[1] presidents were set over the whole province as the Supreme Court of Appeal; and of these three Daniel was the highest. The prophet owed his new position to his late conduct. His interpretation of the mystic writing had been communicated to the Median prince, and mention was doubtless made of the intended reward. Darius confirmed the appointment, subject to the alterations consequent upon a change of dynasty. If the conjecture may be hazarded, he did this at the suggestion of Cyrus. Daniel had been living in retirement since the death of Nebuchadnezzar; there was nothing to bind him to the remainder of that court-party which had surrounded Belshazzar and Nabonnedus; and the Persian thought of this, when seeking for a man to whom he could entrust his own interests. He knew but little of the Jews at that time, and of Daniel's personal character still less. But the prophet seemed the one man whose influence was capable of being best directed to further his ultimate intentions. Daniel, at the right hand of Darius, would secure for the new monarchy the good-will of the largest and most formidable section of the captive population of Babylon. He would be above the arts of conspirators anxious to restore the family of Nebuchadnezzar. And a feeling of gratitude to his patron would make him a friend to, and supporter of, his views when

[1] The division of the whole Iranian community into three classes is very ancient. In the Gâthâs (1200 B.C.), the oldest books of the Zend-Avesta, they are known by peculiar names, the 'lord,' the 'yeoman,' and the 'bondman' (Haug, *Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsees*, p. 145). Spiegel (*Avesta*, Germ. Transl. II. p. 129, comp. p. 125, n. 7) translates this passage differently to Haug. But he also gives instances (II. p. v. *Yaçna*, XIV. 5. *Vendidad*, XIV. 26) of that early division into three classes certainly found in the *Visparad* (800—700 B.C.), 'priests, warriors, and cultivators' (Haug, p. 174. Spiegel, II. p. 11). In the *Fravardin Yasht* (*circ.* 450—350 B.C.) Zoroaster centres in himself all the attributes of the classes. He is 'the first priest, the first warrior, the first cultivator of the soil' (Haug, p. 191). On these dates v. Haug, pp. 218—24. They are more decided than those of Spiegel, I. p. 13 seq.

Median jealousy should exert itself to undermine them. Had Cyrus known the character of the Israelite prophet, he would never have supposed in him anything but the most faithful adherence to his duties, let his master be Babylonian, Median, or Persian. But Cyrus naturally viewed these things from their political side; and for that reason he suggested to Darius the appointment of Daniel. This promotion placed the prophet at the head of every class sacerdotal and civil. And it at once centred upon him the national jealousy to a foreigner. The Casdim saw their hated President restored to power; the Magi[1] regarded their unknown chief with suspicion; and the courtiers of Darius, if at first well-disposed, were speedily turned against him by the representations of the astrologers. The classes united, and gladly seized their first opportunity. "They could find none occasion nor fault in him as a man;" they were compelled to confess it: but they would use against him "the law of his God." The history of the conspiracy, its first issue, and its final results, are familiar to every reader of Scripture, and I need not repeat them.

I pass on to points of a more general character.

With this chapter are closely connected allusions to certain Persian customs. And these allusions, it is well known, have been very differently accepted. While some have unhesitatingly affirmed them to be proofs of a late date of composition, others have quoted them no less confidently as authentic marks referring the book to an age far anterior to the Maccabæan period. Perhaps I shall not be considered omitting any very essential point if I pass

[1] The name Magi was given in later times to the priests of India, Persia, and Babylonia, indiscriminately. In Herodotus (I. 101) the Magi are a tribe of the Medes. In the cuneiform inscriptions the form is Magush. And Haug (p. 160) considers 'Magava' (*Yaç.* LI. 15) to be the original form of the name. If so, it was applied to the earliest followers of Zoroaster. But the interpretation of the word is a disputed one. Vid. Spiegel, *Av.* II. p. 168, n. 1. Magava he identifies with the Greek Βαγώας (I. p. 294, II. p. vi.).

over the unpleasant recriminations often connected with this question, and limit my remarks to the statement of the reasons which impel me to assent most heartily to the latter conclusion. I believe that it may be asserted, upon purely historical grounds, that the Persian customs, and, in particular, the deification of the King recorded here by Daniel, are presented at a stage of developement exactly correspondent to the age in which the Biblical narrative has placed them.

It is generally allowed that by the time of Darius Hystaspes (521—485 B.C.) the apotheosis of the reigning monarch was a recognised act. His deification was the highest stage in that scale of exaggerated veneration illustrated to the modern European by the sculptures of Persepolis[1]. The representations upon the royal tomb are familiar instances of the custom mentioned. But more to the present purpose are those given by Niebuhr and Sir R. Ker Porter from coronation scenes. In the illustration furnished by the former, the King appears as the representative of the great Zendic deity Ormazd. He bears in his hand the mystic ring expressive of his command over the circle of time, and upon his head rests the ball, the symbol of the supreme God. In the plate figured by Sir R. Ker Porter[2], the King, seated on his horse, receives the circlet from a second mounted figure. On the shoulders of the horses are inscriptions expressive of the dignity of the riders. The recipient of the circle is entitled 'the Servant of Ormazd, the god Ardashir, King of the Kings of Iran, of the race of the gods, son of the god Babec, King:' and the giver of the circle is called 'the god Jupiter[3].' Similar

[1] Rawlinson, *Herod.* Vol. IV. p. 4, pp. 255–6. Hengstenb. *Genuineness*, &c. p. 106 seq., gives the valuable opinions of Heeren and Rhode. On Persepolis, v. Lassen, s. n. in Ersch u. Gruber's *Encyclopädie*. Spiegel, *Erân*, p. 91.

[2] *Travels in Georgia*, &c. Plate 28. Vid. Hengst. *Appendix*, pp. 316–7.

[3] This is the rendering of De Sacy (Hengst. *l. c.*). Jupiter is here put for Ormazd. The inscriptions are in Pehlvi and Greek, from the latter of which the translation is made.

customs, in less and in equally developed stages, have been collected from Scripture and heathen historians by Brissonius, in his brief but 'golden book[1].' The most cursory examination of his pages will show the extent to which king-worship was carried. After the coronation the monarch seldom appeared in public: and at all times it was most difficult to obtain access to him. Even where familiarity and affection might have pleaded a relaxation of the rule, the barriers to free intercourse were equally numerous. It was death to enter the royal presence unbidden[2]. The court itself was framed after a celestial model. If the King gave audience, he sat upon a golden throne surrounded by his greatest princes, as Ormazd sat in heaven supported by the Amshashpands[3]. Those who entered the audience chamber prostrated themselves with the hands behind the back, adoring in the person of the Sovereign the incarnation of divine power. As the Pharaohs were the 'children of the Sun,' favourites and vice-regents of the god Phra; so the Iranian kings were the personificators of Light, the highest advocates of the cultus of Ormazd. And as the words of the god were deemed irrevocable, so the fiat of the King grew to be endowed with a like power. He but placed his signet on the harshest decree, and it became irreversible. It is a well-accredited story[4] that when Alexander saw the immense power this apotheosis gave to the Persian Sovereign, he demanded of his Eastern subjects a similar adoration. He felt that could he but appropriate to himself the mystic advantages

[1] *De regis Persarum principatu* (Ald. ed. Par. 1599). Comp. esp. p. 10 seq. The epithet was given to the book by Scaliger (*Epist.* IX.). For many interesting remarks upon the Persian kings, vid. Duncker, *Gesch. d. Alterthums.* II. p. 605 seq.; Creuzer, *Symbolik,* III. p. 836 (ed. 1840–3); von Hammer, *Wiener. Jahrb. d. Literatur,* VIII. p. 381 seq. Spiegel, *Érân,* 'Persis,' p. 74 seq.

[2] Esther iv. 11. Herod. III. 118–9.

[3] On this name vid. Burnouf, *Comm. sur le Yaçna,* pp. 147–74. Benfey, *Griech. Wurzellex.* II. 168. Haug, p. 260.

[4] The story is told by Curtius and Justin (Brissonius, pp. 19–21).

attached to the nimbus surrounding their person, his hold upon the people would be indissoluble.

But there is every reason to believe that the ceremonial and ritualistic exaggeration connected with the person of the Sovereign was of gradual growth, if not the eventual result of a religious reform. Tradition and cuneiform inscriptions seem happily agreed in describing Darius Hystaspes not so much as an originator as the restorer of a worship outraged and overlaid by antagonistic forms[1]. Long before the famous Persian wrote the history of his exploits upon the rock of Behistun, Ormazd was reverenced in the person of the reigning Prince. Arrian[2] speaks indeed of Cyrus as the first to originate the worship of the king, but the researches of Spiegel and Haug permit the conclusion that it was a matter of religious faith among the Persians proper for many years before. To give but one instance. The Visparad[3], or collection of prayers (B.C. 800—700), invokes amongst others, 'Anahîta, the Mountain, the Angels, Behram, Mithra, Ramanqaçtar, the *Ruler of the Country*, and the Zarathastrôtema (or High-Priest).' The passage proves that at that early date the kings were believed to stand in direct communication with Ormazd himself, and receive from him answers to their questions. And it is not difficult to trace the growth of this veneration for the king. When the monuments of the historic period are studied, it is noticed that the faith of king and people has assumed a peculiar form of Dualism; peculiar in this respect, that Dualism has become elaborated and extended far beyond its original and simpler limits. The walls of

[1] For the tradition comp. the mythical history of the Lohrasp and Gustasp of the Shah-Nameh (Creuzer, *Religions de l'Antiquité*, ed. J. D. Guigniaut, Vol. I. 2nde Partie, p. 687, and note). For the inscriptions, and a detailed proof of this position, comp. Rawl. *Herod.* Vol. I. Essay v., Vol. II. Essay II. Spiegel and Windischmann are the chief dissentients to this view. Vid. reff. in n. 1, p. 193.

[2] Brisson, p. 15. Hardwick, *Christ and other Masters*, II. p. 396 (2nd Ed.).

[3] Haug, *op. cit.* pp. 173–4. Spiegel, *Avesta*, II. pp. 6, 10, translates the words in italics in a less definite manner.

Murghâb are covered with bas-reliefs, whose figures represent neither sentient beings nor historical personages[1]; and the often-quoted ruins of Persepolis furnish numerous instances of monstrous forms, half-human, half-bestial, fighting one with another or with men, in perpetual illustration of an antagonism between good and evil. And as men looked away from this mythical contest to frame for its brighter side some sensuous and tangible form, they personified in the reigning monarch all that was most powerful and theoretically most excellent on earth, in opposition to all that was most weakly and most vicious. But originally this developement was unknown. It would have been out of harmony with the Dualism of the great Zendic Prophet himself. His Dualism was a principle of speculative philosophy, not of theology[2]. This would seem to be the only possible deduction from the genuine doctrines of Zoroaster preserved in the Gâthâs of the old Yaçna[3]. In theology Zoroaster was decidedly monotheistic, acting as the reformer of a polytheism of the most refined and spiritual character. His predecessors, the Soshyantôs or fire-priests, worshipped a plurality of good spirits called Ahuras. This plurality Zoroaster, himself a Soshyanto, reduced to unity. He made it his mission to absorb in Mazdeism (or the worship of Ormazd) the old Ahura religion of the ancient fire-priests[4]. In pursuance of this one object he also attempted a solution of that heart-fretting problem, the co-existence of good and evil. And this he solved by a

[1] Guigniaut, p. 718.

[2] Haug, p. 255 seq. Döllinger, I. p. 387.

[3] For the statements in the following paragraphs, v. Haug, *l. c.*, Döllinger, I. pp. 385–7, and Franck, *Études Orientales*, p. 223 seq. Paris, 1851. The Gâthâs of the Zend-Avesta are collections of metrical pieces containing prayers, songs, and hymns. Spiegel, *Excurs.* 'Zarathustra u. die Lehren d. Avesta' (II. p. 214), admits that Zarathustra was possibly the author of the older Yaçna, but he considers the point very problematical. It is very much to be regretted that he and Haug, two of the greatest European authorities in Zend-Avestic literature, should differ on almost every point.

[4] Haug, p. 251, *Yaçna*, XXX. (Haug, pp. 141–2).

philosophical Dualism. He supposed two primeval causes, dissentient though united in one Being, the producers of the world of spiritual as well as of material things. These creative causes were Vohu Manô, or 'good mind,' and Akem Manô or 'naught mind.' They were the two moving causes in the universe united from the beginning and called 'twins[1].' In the Zoroastrian system this Dualism possesses Ormazd himself as well as men; but with this difference, that as united in the god the names Vohu Manô and Akem Manô, are not retained. They become respectively Çpento mainyus or 'white spirit,' and Angrô mainyus or 'dark spirit.' As such they are the two sides of one divine Being. Rightly understood the Mazdean doctrine ignores an abstract and absolute Dualism. Ormazd is the creator of the good and evil. The monotheistic bias of the religion of the Zend-Avesta,—at times powerful enough to check the growth of the most purified polytheism, at others capable only of moderating the physical tendencies of the antagonistic element,—fashioned for itself this early phase of Dualism; but it was a matter of philosophical not theological conception. In the Gâthâs, Angrô mainyus, or Ahriman, is no *separate*[2] Being opposed to Ormazd. He occupies a position very far removed from equality. While omniscience belongs to the Creator, the 'dark spirit' has only an after-knowledge; he is altogether incapable of foreseeing the effects of his acts, and his knowledge is limited to actual results. 'There was a time when he was not,' says a Parsee manual[3], 'The time shall come when he shall cease to be among the creatures of Ormazd.' The

[1] *Yaç.* XXX. 3: yema-yama, 'twin,' Sanscr. Haug, p. 143. Spiegel, I. p. 119 and n. 2.

[2] *Yaç.* XIX. 9. Ormazd here mentions the 'two spirits' inherent in his nature. There is as yet no separation. 'The white (holy) of my two Spirits has continually spoken (the sacred word) to produce the works of life,' &c. This chapter of the Yaçna is a commentary on the sacred prayer, Honovar. (Haug, 168–70).

[3] Quoted by Döll. I. p. 387, from Müller, *Münch. Gel. Anz.* XX. 541.

evil against which Ormazd and all good men are represented as fighting, is called 'drukhs,' 'destruction,' or the 'lie,' a personification borrowed from the devas. And the same expression for the 'evil' recurs in the Persian cuneiform inscriptions, where it is the 'lie' against which Darius Hystaspes contended. Ahriman appears never to be mentioned by name[1]. But in later times the original doctrine of the Mazdean Prophet became distorted and falsely applied. The Vendidad[2] presents the evil spirit in an attitude of constant persevering opposition to Ormazd, and as endowed with equal power. The 'white' or holy 'spirit' is taken as a name for the Supreme Being; and Ahriman for that of his opponent. The Dualism of god and devil once admitted and personified, it was then easy to assign to them independent and antagonistic sovereignty. And by a process of deduction emanating from earthly analogies, these Genii were encompassed with a court and council befitting their rank. At the head of the six Amshashpands, and often incorporated with them, was Çpento-mainyus, while Ahriman presided over the evil Devas. How different this later developement is from the monotheistic conceptions of the Gâthâs, a very slight inspection is sufficient to determine. The Amshashpands of the Vendidad are frequently mentioned by name in the older writings[3], but etymology and context prove them to be—in the Gâthâs—nothing but abstract nouns and ideas, representing all the gifts which Ormazd, the only god, gives to those

[1] Rawl. *Herod.* Vol. I. p. 427, n. 4, explains this absence of Ahriman from the monuments by the parallel absence of the name of Satan from 'the public documents of modern countries.' But this analogy must be qualified by the difference between modern and ancient ideas of the Evil One. Spiegel's reason is satisfactory, though more general: 'Die Inschriften überhaupt nur obenhin über religiöse Verhältnisse sprechen' (*Av.* II. p. 215).

[2] Comp. especially the first Fargard or chapter. Spiegel, *Av.* I. p. 61. For different opinions on this Fargard, v. Haug, in Bunsen, *Egypt's Place in Univers. Hist.* Vol. III. or Germ. ed. v. p. 80 seq., and Spiegel, *Av.* II. p. cix. *Êrân*, 'Avesta u. Veda,' pp. 259–65, with reff.

[3] *Yaçna*, XLVII. 1.

who worship him in thought and action. The personification of these abstractions was a later addition by the successors of the Prophet[1]. And so with the council of Devas. The idea is completely strange to the older pieces, and cannot even claim the rank of originality. It was evidently a counterfeit of the celestial council, and the number (six) of the infernal assessors is not found in the Zend texts, but in the Bundehesh only[2].

This, then, is the Dualism of the Vendidad and the Inscriptions. It has assumed a more physical appearance than that originally conceived for it. And not only have abstractions become personifications, but human beings are deprived of historical personality, and surrounded by a dogmatic nimbus. The Zoroaster of the Gâthâs is in the Vendidad and Yashts stripped of almost everything peculiar to human nature, and vested with supernatural and divine power. He stands in close proximity to the Supreme Being, and claims superiority over the Amshashpands[3]. It may be said to be the same with the sovereign. The monarch of the Visparad is exalted yet higher still by deification, and men learn to acknowledge in him the incarnation of Ormazd.

But when these interesting relics of Zendic literature and Achæmenian magnificence are compared with the writings of the Greek historians[4], there appears a complete and unexpected contradiction. To judge from the pages of Herodotus, Strabo, and others, the Persian religion should not contain a trace of Dualism. Ormazd is not once mentioned. The religion described is purely and en-

[1] Haug, p. 258.

[2] Haug, pp. 260–2. The Bundehesh is a work of the restoration-period commencing with the Sassanian dynasty (A. D. 235). Max Müller in Bunsen, *Outlines of Philosophy of Univers. Hist.* I. p. 119 (1854). Hardwick, II. p. 374. Spiegel, *Êrân*, p. 369.

[3] Haug, p. 251.

[4] These are presented in a collected form by Haug, pp. 3–11.

tirely elemental[1]. The 'Persians' of the 'Father of history' bring sacrifices to the sun, earth, fire, water, and winds: and these elements were 'originally the only objects of worship.' He notes it, in fact, as an intrusion of later times that they had learned from strangers 'the worship of Aphrodite...whom the Assyrians call Mylitta, the Arabs Alitta, and the Persians Mitra[2].' These primitive sacrifices, again, were never offered upon altars, but in some 'pure spot;' it being an essential clause in their creed that there should be no idol, no temple, no altar. But in the Inscriptions there appears to be nothing elemental[3]. Estimated by them, the faith of the early Achæmenian kings was Dualistic, without reference to fire-worship or elemental religion. The point is not without its importance as affecting the value of Daniel's statements. But the contradiction is more apparent than real. Herodotus and Strabo had neither of them been in Persia Proper, and they knew nothing of the language[4]. They witnessed that religious system only which was practised in countries more to the West. There, it would seem, the worship of the elements prevailed in its earlier form, and the more specific Iranian worship was kept out of sight, or had become altogether extinct. The Greeks, in short, speak of Zoroastric writings which have nothing in common with the Zend literature[5]. They transform the Zoroaster, or

[1] Herod. I. 131, 132. Comp. Rawlinson's paper, *Essay on the Religion of the Ancient Persians*, Vol. I. Essay V. p. 426 seq.

[2] Herodotus has here committed a mistake as to a name. The female deity of the later Persians was Anâhita (Zend-Av. and cuneiform inscriptions). Mitra or Mithra is the Sun-god of the Persians, and a male deity. On Mithra vid. Windischmann's treatise, *Mythra. Ein Beitrag zur Mythengesch. d. Orients*, Leipz. 1857.

[3] Spiegel, *Êrân*, 'Persis,' p. 100, considers it too strong an assertion that elemental worship was unknown to the system figured in the inscriptions. 'Die Keilinschriften enthalten ebensowenig ein System d. altpersisch. Religion wie Herodot, und erwähnen religiöse Dinge nur zufällig u. nebenbei.'

[4] Döllinger, I. p. 385. Vid. note 2, p. 177.

[5] Id. pp. 381–2. Spiegel, *Av.* II. p. 209.

more correctly the Zarathustra, of Eastern Asia into a Zaratus or Zarades of the West. The prophet is, in their pages, but the representative of a form of religion, the type of a worship and priestly caste in connection with it. His home they place in Western or Central Asia, in one of those countries originally forming a contingent of the great Chamite—Cephenic kingdom. And it is not impossible to determine generally the epoch of fusion of these Eastern and Western conceptions. As the Persian domination extended westward, so did the Persian creed: and there are many indications that Media or Bactria was made the arena of the struggle between two forms of religion differing at least in details[1]. Cushite or Scythic magism, spreading from the West, came there into contact with Aryan Dualism spreading from the East. The Aryans, who overran Asia, were everywhere but a small element in the population of the countries subdued by them. And although they may have succeeded in imposing at first their own creed, yet it seems a fair conclusion that in many countries it was only tolerated for a time, and eventually dispossessed by the national worship. The Aryan branch which had penetrated to Media made but little resistance, and the victors learned the opinions of the vanquished[2]. And by the time of the Jewish captivity the primitive faith of the Mede must have exhibited several incongruous additions, derived successively from the tenets of his Cushite subjects, Assyrian masters, and Babylonian allies. When Cyrus became supreme in every province of Iran, he conciliated his Median subjects by his patronage of their profession, and placed Magism on a level with the worship

[1] Westergaard, *Zend-Avesta*, Pref. p. 16. Döllinger, Rawlinson.

[2] Creuzer, *Rélig. &c.* ed. Guigniaut, I. p. 680 and reff. On the very disputed history of the Medes, v. Rawl. *Herod.* 'On the Chronology and History of the great Median Empire,' Vol. I. Essay III. p. 401 seq. Niebuhr, *Gesch. Assurs u. Babels*, passim; and Spiegel, *Êrân*, 'Medien,' p. 22 seq.; 'Dejokes u. die Anfänge d. Medischen Herrschaft,' p. 308 seq. These three writers may be said to exhaust the subject under its different aspects.

of the great Ormazd[1]. In this he only followed out that cautious policy already described. While his tenure of the Median throne was still insecure, he acted in deference to the feelings of others, without for one instant resigning the worship of his own national gods. He was a staunch upholder of the ancestral creed, but without the impetuous proselytism of the later Cambyses. He sought indeed to unite under one common profession the great Iranian population which paid him allegiance, but with the keen sagacity of a conqueror he left to time the working out of that problem whose stages and conclusion he made no attempt to conceal. And in the worship of fire—a feature common to the Zendic and Magian ritual[2]—he discovered one important stepping-stone to union. The Aryan Atharva[3] found in an attachment to pyrolatry a bond of junction between himself and the Median Magus, and thus the simpler, more elemental worship of the Cushite approximated itself with partial facility to the Dualism of the Persian. It is true that later events proved the union to have been either simulated or of the most fragile character. The Magian Gumata[4], in the reign of Cambyses, secured ready adherents to his rebellious standard by the religious as well as political aspect imparted by him to his act of usurpation. By a master-stroke of policy he transferred his seat of power into Media, where the people were prejudiced in his favour; and he extirpated those religious forms which he, and those who thought with him, con-

[1] Guign. p. 695. Creuzer, *Symbolik*, I. 189, n. 1. Xenophon, *Cyrop.* VIII. 1. § 23. Hardwick, II. p. 369.

[2] Döllinger, I. p. 384. Haug, p. 250.

[3] On this name, that of the fire-priest, called by the Parsees, Athorné, vide Burnouf, *Journ. Asiat.* VII. p. 46, and *Observatt. sur la Gramm. Comp. de Bopp*, p. 21. Max Müller, *Hist. of Ancient Sanscr. Literature*, p. 448. Haug (p. 251) identifies the Atharvas with the Soshyantôs (*Yaçna*, XLVI. 3, XLVIII. 12), whom he considers the predecessors of Zoroaster, and of the founders of the Ahura against the Deva religion. Spiegel, *Av.* II. 6, considers it, like the western Magus, an eastern equivalent for a priest.

[4] Döllinger, id. Hardwick, II. p. 370. Spiegel, *Erân*, p. 57.

sidered subversive of the Magian faith. To avenge this wrong was the act of Darius Hystaspes. He assumed the attitude, and celebrates himself on the rocky tablets of Behistun as a religious reformer[1]. And the terrible Magophonia, which formed the crowning catastrophe of the Magian independence, was elevated to the rank of an anniversary, commemorative both of the Persian victory and of the triumph of Ormazd. But in the time of Cyrus these difficulties were neither urged by the conqueror, nor felt by the conquered. The Persian soldier-king, impressible by nature and flexible in disposition[2], found himself in contact with a creed whose simplicity he perceived to be already overlaid by his own more sensuous worship. Union, for that reason, did not seem to him so difficult. Neither Mede nor Persian were idolators under the early Achæmenian rule. Image-worship was certainly unknown to the latter till Artaxerxes Ochus[3] introduced statues of Anâhita into Babylon, Susa, Ecbatana, and Damascus. The Iranians knew nothing of that degrading vice till they learned it from the Babylonian or those other nations where idolatry was recognised. The Mede perhaps more familiar with Assyrian polytheism than his new ally, and taught to pray devoutly and habitually for the welfare of his king[4], found no feeling shocked when required to elevate the monarch to a super-human rank. Any wor-

[1] Vid. Rawl. *Herod.* Vol. II. p. 593. The whole Behistun inscription is given in this Appendix. Comp. the expressions, 'By the grace of Ormazd I became king. I bade that what Gumata the Magian honoured should not be honoured. I have restored the temples and worship of the Patron of the kingdom and of the Gods, which Gumata had despoiled. By the favour of Ormazd I have gained what was carried off.' Spiegel maintains his reform to have been national, not religious. *Die Altpersisch. Keilinschriften*, p. 82 seq. Id. *Êrân*, 'Persis,' p. 48, and *Die Regierung des Darius nach den Keilinschriften*, pp. 324–5. Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, p. 126.

[2] *Herod.* I. 135.

[3] Spiegel, *Av.* I. pp. 15, 270, quoting Clem. Alex. *Admonit. ad Gentes*, p. 43, ed. Sylb. Duncker, *Gesch. d. Alterthums*, II. pp. 408–10. Creuzer, *Relig.* &c. I. p. 89. Berosus, Fragm. XVI. ed. C. Müller.

[4] *Herod.* I. 131. Brissonius, p. 222. Creuzer, p. 82. Duncker, II. 408.

ship paid in consequence of such elevation, he considered offered to a living being, and not to an idol. He found no theological difficulty in regarding the sovereign in the same exalted light as did the Persian; and while policy suggested assent to the wishes of his liberator from the yoke of Astyages, his national pride was flattered by the selection of his countryman—Darius the Mede—as the first object of such unwonted veneration. It is known that the ceremonial of the Medes grew out of a combination of Assyro-Babylonian ideas and ancient Iranian customs[1]: and while the latter offered no opposition to excessive attachment to the person of the sovereign, contact with the polytheistic tenets of the former made hero-worship neither difficult nor unusual. But, from the first, it may be assumed that the deification of the king had a political as well as a religious aspect. It cannot be doubted that to surround the private and public life of the Oriental monarch with a ritualistic fence was in reality to dispossess him of virtual power. The priest or the courtier could not bluntly coerce their king to the same degree as his subjects, but they gained their end by an exaggerated form of subserviency. They conceived for him and personified in him, an ideal despotism paternal and protective in character. His domain they imagined coextensive with that of the mythical Djemschid, and his visible glory a typical reproduction of the invisible magnificence of Ormazd. Deification thus became a counterpoise to absolute power. The monarch was at the mercy of a few whose ritual and ceremonial arrangements exalted him to the celestial hierarchy, and yet left him a puppet in their hands. I have already stated the extreme form which this assumed in the reign of Darius Hystaspes. It began with his coronation and ended only with his life. But in the time of Darius the Mede, the religious conception of the Persian

[1] Duncker, II. p. 605.

was satisfied, and the political object of the enemies of Daniel gained by a mere temporary apotheosis. For one month the new sovereign was considered the representative of Ormazd, and no petition was permitted to either man or god. And before he knew the aim of his flatterers, Darius found that he had signed the death-warrant of his chief officer.

The account then of Daniel in this chapter is exactly that which might be expected from an eye-witness and participator in the scenes he describes. Had the writer lived after the days of Darius Hystaspes, such limited deification would have been unknown to him. The delicate and unobtrusive traits of contemporaneous narrative would have been impossible to a writer living in the Maccabæan period. It should not be forgotten that through the Macedonian conquest Greek civilization extended itself in Persia, and proved extremely detrimental to the Iranian religion[1]. For 500 years, from the Macedonian conquest 335 B.C. to the Sassanian accession to the throne of Iran 235 A.D., the Persian faith with its accompanying externals of pageant and ceremonial was entirely unrepresented and unsupported by the kings. And yet it is during that period of gradual decay that modern opinion would place a writer capable of such minute exactitude as is exhibited in the sixth chapter of the Book of Daniel.

But there is further testimony to the correctness of this Chapter. The decree issued by Darius evidently applied to the Babylonians as well as to the Medes and Persians. How were they likely to receive it? In the opinion of Bertholdt[2], they were certain to resent any such intrusion upon their public and domestic worship. But independently of a disarmed and subject population being quite at

[1] Westergaard, *Z. A.* Pref. p. 17. Spiegel, *Av.* I. 12, 14–8. De Sacy, *Mém. sur diverses Antiquités de la Perse*, p. 41 seq. Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hellenismu* II. p. 789 seq. Haug, p. 124. Hardwick, II. p. 372.

[2] Cf. Hengstenb. *Genuineness*, &c. p. 102 seq.

the mercy of their conquerors, all existing information respecting the Babylonian religion supports the opinion that the decree would meet with tacit, if not with ready acceptance. The indigenous population of Babylonia perhaps regarded the proposed deification with more curiosity than devotion, but certainly also without objection. Hero-worship[1] and king-worship were no strange acts to the most idolatrous of nations, though the nature of the adoration now expected of them possessed some novel and unusual features.

There can be no doubt that Babylonia was largely influenced by the religious and philosophical opinions of Persia and India, just as those countries were affected by the grosser and more physical conceptions of their idolatrous sister[2]. Encircled as was Aramæa generally by Indo-European races, it would have been strange if the Semite had remained unaffected by the proximity[3]. And in historic times the traces of this influence are matters of philological and mythological notoriety. Dualism in its materialistic form, and the personifications of good and evil spirits were dogmas early admitted into the Chaldæan religion[4]. On the other hand, the Chaldæo-Babylonian[5] instructed the Persian to unravel by the aid of astrolatry the secrets of the magic and fantastic Power believed to preside over the course of events and human destinies. It was through this same channel that the Zarvan-Akarana passed into the creed of the later Persians[6].

[1] That hero-worship existed in Assyria may be seen from Rawl. *Herod.* Vol. I. p. 589.

[2] On the whole subject of the infusion of foreign and especially Semitic elements into the ancient Persian religion, vid. Spiegel's *Essays* in the *Zeitschr. der D. M. G.* Vols. V. p. 221 seq., VI. p. 78 seq. A summary of the Semitic influence is given in the *Avesta*, Vol. I. p. 269 seq., Vol. II. p. cv seq. *Êrân*, Avesta u. die Genesis,' p. 274 seq., 'Persis,' p. 81.

[3] Renan, *Hist. d. langues Sémit.* p. 270.

[4] Franck, *Étud. Orient.* p. 239.

[5] Döllinger, I. p. 394. Spiegel, *Avesta*, I. p. 272, II. pp. cxix, 216 seq.

[6] Spiegel, ll. c. Rawlinson, *Journ. As. Soc.* XV. p. 245, n. 2. *Herod.* Vol.

This great deity is to be distinctly traced to the Ziru-Banit of the Assyro-Chaldæan inscriptions, and the Bel of the Babylonian mythology. And therefore, the Babylonian, when called upon by Darius the Mede to pay to his royal person the homage due to a god, found no difficulty in acceding to the demand. Darius came to him as a conqueror, and it was a feeling natural to all nations of antiquity to vivify the Deity in the hero[1]. The Indian Vishnu, the Persian Djemschid, the Assyrian Bel, the Egyptian Horus, and the Scandinavian Odin illustrate, with but slight ethnographic and climactic modifications, one principle of apotheosis. In furtherance of that principle, the Babylonian added Darius to his Pantheon.

But it appears probable that the habit of excessive veneration towards heroes and sages was of frequent and ancient occurrence in Babylonia. One instance of this, of no insignificant character, is recorded in the writings of Ezekiel, the contemporary of Daniel. In chapter viii. the prophet, seated in his own house on the banks of the Chebar, beholds in a vision the abominations intruded into the worship of the Temple by the apostate Israelites inhabiting Jerusalem. The women 'sit at the entrance of the gate towards the north weeping for the Tammuz' (v. 14): the men, 'the ancients of the house of Israel,' headed by Jaazaniah, the son of Shaphan, are prostrated before the sun towards the East, 'putting the twig to the nose.' The latter custom is clearly Magian. Strabo[2] reports the same practice of 'holding a bunch of twigs in the left hand, during the recital of prayers; and under the title of the Barsom (the Bereçma of the Zend) the bunch is still used by the Parsee priests when repeating the Yaçna[3]. Evi-

1. Essay v. p. 430. Döllinger, I. p. 388. Hardwick, II. p. 380. Spiegel reaches the same result as Rawlinson but by a different process.

[1] Guigniaut (Creuzer, *Relig. de l'Antiq.*), pp. 526, 686.

[2] Strabo, XV. p. 733. Ges. *Thesaur.* s. v. זמורה. Haug, p. 2.

[3] Haug, pp. 133, 239. Spiegel, *Avesta*, II. p. lxviii. Hyde, *Hist. Relig. vet. Persarum*, p. 350.

dently the Jews became acquainted with the practice through Syrian and Babylonian channels; and the close proximity here, of Magian features and the worship of Tammuz, renders it probable that Babylonia was the birthplace of this latter mysterious cultus. Tammuz, it is well known, is the name of the fourth month of the Jewish year prevalent in the writings of the post-Babylonian period[1]: and though Benfey[2] traced the origin of the name to the Persian language, later philological researches, and the entire dissimilarity between the names of the months on the Behistun inscription and the Hebrew titles, have caused the opinion to be abandoned[3]. The name is Semitic and is found in the Syriac calendars[4]. From them the Rabbin readily borrowed it, being already familiar with it as the name of a sage worshipped with divine honours in ancient Babylonia. To this conclusion modern investigation seems to point. Out of the midst of much confusion, a skein of truth emerges, that Tammuz was a prophet who, in some remote antiquity, sought to introduce astral worship into Babylon, and fell the proto-martyr of his own creed[5]. Later ages deified the Saint, and a temple was erected to his memory by the Mendaites[6], a remnant of the ancient population of Babylon[7]. And with the lapse of time, the myth which became attached to his name passed under various forms into foreign countries. The worship paid to Tammuz found its

[1] *Mishna*, 'Taanim,' 4, § 5. The Talmudists asserted that it was introduced by the Jews who returned from the Babylonian captivity (*Tulm.* 'Rosh hashanah,' I. § 1). In Targ. of Jonathan on Gen. viii. 5, it is the name given to the 'tenth month' (Buxtorf, *Lex. Rabb.* &c. s. v.).

[2] Benfey, *Monatsn.* p. 167 seq.

[3] Rawl. *Herod.* Vol. II. 593–6. The Persian names for the months given on this inscription are also different from those of the less ancient Persian Calendar or Sîrôzah (Spiegel, *Av.* I. p. 276, II. pp. xcvii—viii). Winer, *R. W. B.* II. p. 602.

[4] Cf. Ideler, *Chronol.* I. 440, for the regular Syrian calendar. Ges. *Thesaur.* s. v. תמוז.

[5] Chwolsohn in the Essay, *Ueber Tammuz*, &c. already quoted.

[6] Matt. Norberg. *Lib. Adami d. Mendaiten.* III. p. 178 seq.

[7] Chwolsohn, *Ssabier*, Vol. I. Bk. I. Ch. v. p. 100 seq. Renan, p. 248 seq.

way into Greece to ornament the festival of Adonis. The features of the Hellenic feast are generically and ritualistically different from the original conception, yet they are clearly referrible to it as their source[1]. This identification of Tammuz was first suggested by Maimonides[2]. He derived it from 'one of the ancient idolatrous books,' and Professor Chwolsohn has lately supported it with that profusion of illustration and research for which he is so remarkable. Tammuz, says the legend, appealed to a certain king to serve the seven planets and the twelve signs[3]. But the king put him to a violent death. On the night of his death, there were gathered together all the images from the ends of the earth to the temple of Babel, to the golden image, the image of the sun. This image was suspended between heaven and earth; and it fell to the ground and all the images fell with it, when it told to them the fate of Tammuz the prophet. And the images wept and lamented all the night, and in the morning they flew away to their own temples. And they made this perpetual statute; that every year at the beginning of the first day of the month Tammuz, they should lament and weep for Tammuz. This is the story told by Qût'âmî in the famous 'Nabatean Agriculture,' a work referred by the S. Petersburg savant to the xivth cent. B.C., by Quatremère to the age of Nebu-

[1] The identification of Tammuz with Adonis is at least as old as S. Jerome, the Vulgate rendering the former by the latter. If the notice of the tradition preserved in the Syriac translation of Melito's *Apology* (edit. by Dr Cureton in the *Spicilegium Syriacum*) be correctly referred, through the original, to the 2nd century, it would seem that the identification was common in that time; the Syriac version of the legend being similar to that of the Greek Adonis with the single alteration of the name. The ritualistic and other differences between the Tammuz and Adonis' worship are drawn out by Chwolsohn, *op. cit.* p. 37 seq.

[2] Maimonides, *Moreh Nevochim*, III. 29. Chwolsohn, pp. 10–1, 57. The story is quoted from Maim, in Kimchi's *Commentary on Ezek.* viii. 14 (Buxtorf, *Bibl. Rabbin.*), and in his *Thesaurus*, s. v. p. 1465 (ed. 1548). The 'ancient idolatrous book' is the now resuscitated 'Nabatean Agriculture.'

[3] How thoroughly Semitic is this Zodiacal or Planet worship may be seen from Chwolsohn, *Ssabier*, II. pp. 366 seq. and 660 seq.

chadnezzar, and by Renan to the iii—ivth cent. A.D.[1] This legend, according to Qût'âmî, was read in his day in the temples to an audience weeping over the fate of the prophet. The translator of Qût'âmî, Ibn Wa'hschijah (A.D. 904), when enumerating the names of the Babylonian months remarks, that Tammuz lived in Babylonia before the coming of the Chaldæans, and belonged to an ancient Mesopotamian tribe called Ganbân; and this name Chwolsohn[2] believes to be that of the Cushite aborigines of Chaldæa, whom the Semitic Nabateans found in possession when they first came into the country, and from whom they learned certain forms of worship. The same Ibn Wa'hschijah adds that in his own time the Ssabians of the Harran and Babylonia wept and lamented for Tammuz in the usual month, but that the origin of the worship had been completely lost. Such a result would be the more probable in proportion to the antiquity of the tradition. Much of this may at once be dismissed as purely legendary, but the broad facts of the existence and of the prophetic mission of Tammuz are both natural and credible. And this substratum of fact is confirmed by later and existing memorials of the East. The Arabic writer En-Nedîm (10th cent.) in his work Fihrist-el'-Ulûm quotes from Abû-S'aîd Wahb ben Ibrahîm's calendar of Syriac feasts, a description of the Tâ-ûz[3] festival held in the middle of the month Tammuz. The Tâ-ûz is there bewailed by women, as in Ezekiel. He was said to have been slain by his master, who ground his bones in a mill, and scattered them to the winds. In consequence of this the women ate,

[1] Chwolsohn, p. 40. Quatremère, *Mém. sur les Nabatéens*, p. 159 (*Mél. Hist.*). Renan, *Age and Antiquity of the Nabat. Agric.* (Engl. Transl.), p. 74.

[2] Id. pp. 54–6. Comp. also the *Ueberreste d. Altbabylon. Literatur*, p. 19.

[3] Chwolsohn, p. 38. Chwolsohn has proved that Tâ-ûz is a corruption of Tammuz, *Ssabier*, II. p. 204 seq. and p. 813. In the Kurdic dialect of Sinna Tâ-us is the name given to the month Tammuz; Lerch, in Chwolsohn, *Ueber Tammuz, &c.* p. 39, note. Comp. also Lerch, *Forschungen über die Kurden*, 2te Abtheil. p. 171, and 1te Abth. p. 102, l. 14.

during the feast, nothing that had been thus ground[1]. In the xith century Ben Schonah (1063), and in the xiiith Ibn Athir (1203) speak of the festival as still commemorated upon the banks of the Tigris[2], and there would seem to be little doubt that it has been perpetuated under a slightly different form in the Ta-azia of the Indian Mahometans,—a festival celebrated in honour of the martyred Hussain, the son of Ali and Fatima the daughter of Mahomet[3].

Tammuz may then be regarded as one of those ancient sages whose efforts were directed towards the propagation of a creed, and who forfeited his life in the ardour of proselytism. By a very intelligible revulsion of feeling, later ages paid to the dead the honour denied to the living. It thus became easy to lose sight of the humanity of the prophet and transfigure him into a god; just as in later and in more polished ages Rome deified Augustus. Tammuz

[1] *Ssabier*, II. p. 27. Liebrecht, *Zeitschr. d. D.M.G.* XVII. 402–3.

[2] Liebrecht, p. 398, from D'Herbelot.

[3] Id. Garcin de Tassy, *Journ. Asiatique*, VIII. 164 seq. Further links in this mythological chain are perhaps to be found in the Nabatean inscriptions. Meier, *Ueber d. Nabat. Inschriften. Zeitschr. d. D.M.G.* XVII. 589 seq. In these frequent mention is made of a god Tâ; and Prof. Meier has defined him to be a deity of light, perhaps the Sun, in whose honour every Nabatean erected an altar on the roof of his house, and daily presented sacrifices of frankincense and drink-offerings. Tammuz or Tâ-ûz is allowed to be Semitic, and if these inscriptions illustrate the word, the prevalent Aramaic element of these records points to Semitic and especially Babylonian sources for the origin of a name and a worship mythologically connected with Magian tenets. Two inscriptions numbered by Beer, 99 and 100, are as follows:

דכיר זידו	Remember Zedo
בר אל־מבקרו	son of Almo-baqquero
לטב מן־טה	for good, from Tah.

For the form comp. Nehem. v. 19. The מן טה is dependent upon דכיר. For a similar use of מן v. Job xxiv. 1, Ps. xxxvii. 23, Eccles. xii. 11. On the subject of these inscriptions comp. the Essays of Levy (*Zeitschr. d. D.M.G.* XIV. p. 363 seq., p. 594 seq.; XVII. p. 82 seq.), Blau (Id. XVI. 331 seq.) and Meier. Blau advocates an Arabic dialect for these inscriptions. Nöldeke (*Z. d. D.M.G.* XVII. p. 703) believes the proper names generally to be Arabic; but out of 90 adduced by Blau, 70 are Semitic, according to Meier, and to be found in the Old Testament (p. 636 seq.).

took similar but local rank in the traditions of the East with Brahma, Menou, Crishna, Buddha, and Zoroaster. Babylonia learnt to reverence in the murdered sage a being who had claimed the closest familiarity with the presiding deities of her own creed.

And this deification of a prophet in Babylonia is not without parallel[1]. For example: the Babylonian records mention as an honour paid to the 'wise and learned Janbûschâd,' that a temple was erected to him at Babylon during his life-time. A more remarkable instance still is that of Dêvanâï, a prophet and lawgiver, whose name is also commemorated in the 'Book of Adam.' His current titles were 'Lord of Humanity,' 'Lord of Men,' 'The honoured Father,' 'The merciful Father,' 'The Philosopher of Philosophers.' Janbûschâd himself believed that the gods had revealed their mysteries to Dêvanâï alone. A temple was built and dedicated to him; his image was placed in it, and a festival was instituted commemorative of his virtuous and benevolent life.

From these remarks it will be seen that Mede, Persian, and Babylonian were all, however variously, quite prepared to accept the decree promulgated by Darius. Monotheist and polytheist, each interpreted it in accordance with his elastic creed. The Jew alone was outraged by the demand; and sooner than accede to it, he went to the lions' den. Of the inhumanity of the punishment attached to disobedience to the decree, there is no question. Tested by the modern and Western standard, any strong epithet might be employed to characterise it. But it did not appear extreme or unusual either to the princes who suggested it, or to the pliable monarch who endorsed it. The remarks already made upon Nebuchadnezzar's treatment of the 'Three Children' apply equally here, and need not be repeated.

[1] Chwolsohn, *Ueber Tammuz, &c.* p. 69 seq. On Janbûschâd v. also pp. 59, 60, and the Index to the *Ueberreste d. Altbabyl. Lit.* s. v.

It remains only to speak of the place to which Daniel was condemned. The word גב (vi. 9) or גבא (vi. 18) translated 'den' by the Authorised Version is said by Bleek to have been of a cistern-shape, and admitting neither light nor air to the lions confined in it. The German critic gives no reason for his adoption of this limited sense, and it is difficult to understand how he deduces it. The word means simply a hole or pit without any such restriction. The *usus loquendi* of the word in the Targums and Semitic dialects contains more than sufficient refutation of Bleek's opinion. If the word is used by the Targum of Prov. v. 15 and the Syriac Version of Isai. xxx. 14, in the sense of a 'well,' the Targum and Syriac of Gen. xxxvii. 20[1] employ it to render the 'pit' into which Joseph was cast. It is used again by the Targum on Jer. xxxviii. (*e.g.* ver. 6) to translate the pit or 'dungeon' into which Jeremiah was let down. Joseph and Jeremiah were both drawn up from these pits by the aid of cords and rags, and certainly both light and air penetrated to them. But it does not at all follow that the pit tenanted by lions, into which Daniel was cast, was a mere perpendicular sinking into the earth. The word 'Gubbà' expresses with Bar-Hebræus[2], a cave or cavern; and certainly such was its use in S. Jerome's time. In his life of Paul the hermit, he speaks of meeting a monk whose abode was an old cistern or cave 'called in the popular (Syriac) speech Gubba,' where he supported life on a miserable pittance[3]. The Arabic and Æthiopic dialects both use the word in the same sense[4]; a fact not to be forgotten, when the tendency of Semitic dialects to preserve and perpetuate original applications, is remembered. And what philology

[1] Heb. בְּאַחַד הַבֹּרוֹת. Targ. בְּחַד מִן־גֻּבַּיָּא. Syr. ܒܚܕ ܡܢ ܓܘܒ̈ܐ.

[2] *Chron.* p. 317. Kirschii *Chrestom. Syr.* p. 58, l. 16, ed. Bernstein.

[3] *Vita S. Pauli Primi Eremitæ.* Hieronym. *Op.* Vol. II. p. 21 (ed. Migne). Such monks were called ἐγκλειστοί.

[4] Gesen. *Thesaur.* s. v. Vol. I. p. 256.

suggests as the natural application of the word in the present case, parallel customs and actual discovery establish. In the absence of any authentic descriptions of the Chaldee or Medo-Persian lion-pits, it has been usual, and justly, to refer to the similar dens of Morocco and Fez[1]. A barbarous custom similar to that of the Persians, casts condemned criminals into these subterranean caves: but Lieut.-General Chesney[2] when searching among the ruins of 'Babel' for a tunnel described by Herodotus, 'came upon an arched subterraneous passage constructed of bricks or bitumen, and leading to an apartment or pit.' This pit passed for 'the den of lions;' and from the strong odour, it was evidently the retreat of those animals. If this pit may be taken as a sample of those existing in the time of Darius, it is easy to see how light and air were preserved to the animals and the prophet. Daniel was probably bound, and cast or placed[3] within the cave, and a stone sealed with the royal signet was rolled to the mouth to prevent egress. But 'God sent His angel, and shut the lions' mouths that they hurt him not.' When, however, it came to the turn of his accusers, they were hardly placed within the reach of the animals than 'their bones were broken in pieces or ever they came at the bottom (or pit) of the den.' But whether the existing pit represents the pattern of those of ancient Babylon or not, there is no just cause for refusing the belief that the subterranean

[1] Keil, *Einl.* § 134. Davidson (formerly), *Introduction* (Horne's ed.), p. 928.

[2] Quoted in Goode, *Warburton Lectt.* p. 235 (1863). This 'passage' was explored 'for some distance.'

[3] It is a slight indication of the shape and formation of the Babylonian pits, that the word translating 'cast' is different from that used in the case of Joseph and Jeremiah. The words רמה or רמא applied to Dan. and his persecutors expresses a different action to that performed on Joseph and Jerem. (שלך). The use of ש is almost always a casting *down:* that of ר, in Dan. (vid. iii. 11, 20, &c.) at least, a casting *into* without the necessary adjunct of downwards. The use of ר in ch. iii. lends probability to the view in the text that Daniel was bound. The word רמא is used by the Nasoreans in the sense of putting in chains or bonds (Lorbach, *Museum*, i. 46).

pits there were inhabited by lions as the text of Daniel describes them[1].

This prolonged examination of the historical sections of the Book of Daniel can leave but one impression, that they embody facts communicated to posterity by an eye-witness and participator in the scenes described. There runs throughout them a naturalness and a vividness impossible to a writer living some centuries after their supposed occurrence. The first six chapters, if tested by the accredited laws of historical criticism, by an analytical enquiry into the national customs and religious developement exhibited in them, and by an inspection of their general phenomena, certainly warrant the acceptance accorded to them for centuries. They are fragmentary, and for that reason, as well as through the rapid transition of the prophet from one subject to another, incomplete: but such incompleteness, whatever it may leave unsupplied, is no proof of spuriousness. And it is no slight testimony to the accuracy of the whole, that it is possible to examine two of the most disputed portions by the light of other and independent facts and memorials. The result proves how well the received account of the prophet abides by the comparison.

Archæology, in the person of one of her most eminent professors[2], welcomes the second chapter as a most precious document with reference to the colossal monuments and sculptures of Babylonia. Setting aside the religious and symbolical aspect of the vision of Nebuchadnezzar, this chapter furnishes the missing links of an otherwise incomplete section in the history of Art. The vision of the king could (physiologically speaking) have happened only among a people familiar in their waking hours with the objects which passed before the royal sleeper. Nebuchadnezzar

[1] De Wette's archæological objections are answered by Herzfeld, *Gesch.* I. 480, n. 105 (1847).

[2] Raoul Rochette (Migne, *Dict. d. la Bible*, Vol. II. p. 30, n. 1).

must often have gazed upon huge and monstrous forms wrought out of mixed metals and worked up in repoussé, similar to that 'great image' which 'troubled his spirit.' Polychromatic sculpture, advancing to its highest art in the successive forms of Diana of Ephesus, Juno of Argos, and the chef d'œuvre of Phidias—Jupiter Olympius, can therefore trace an earlier and coarser expression in the colossal deformities of Babylon.

Again, when Daniel's account of his being placed in the lions' den is compared with that of the apocryphal work 'Bel and the Dragon,' it is impossible not to feel how differently the inspired writer and some later scribe have handled the mere externals of the same subject. The one historical blunder (ver. 4) of making Cyrus a worshipper of the Babylonian Bel, would have been impossible to the contemporary Prophet Daniel. If there was one tenet common to the captive Jew and the Persian, it was Monotheism. However different their apprehensions of this great doctrine, its assertion produced in both a hatred of the idolatry which peopled the temples and streets o Babylon. Cyrus' universal kindness to the Jews has been mainly and justly attributed to his recognition, in the religion of the exiled Israelites, of that theological tenet which formed the groundwork of his own.

And even where obscurity may still encompass points of extreme interest and importance, the general solidity of the base and supports upon which the whole narrative is founded, is more than sufficient to induce, if not assent to other and still unconfirmed portions, at least a suspension of the determined verdict that the whole is to be condemned. It has been very truly written by one who will not be accused of partiality to the view I am defending —that 'in writings on these subjects, there is too strong a tendency not fairly to appreciate, or even to keep out of sight, the broader features of the main question, in the eagerness to single out particular salient points for attack;

there is too ready a disposition to triumph in lesser details, rather than steadily grasp more comprehensive principles and leave minor difficulties to await their solution. This or that particular argument is regarded as if the entire credit of the cause were staked upon it[1].' Such words require but little alteration to become applicable here. Let these historical sections of the Book of Daniel be regarded as a whole. Grasp their broad features, and it will be seen how consonant they are to the likeness and configuration of the period they profess to illustrate. Mark also how even in 'lesser details' they exhibit the autographic touches of but one and the same narrator, and 'minor difficulties may be safely left to await their solution,' as time and discovery shall educe it.

Note.

In the previous pages frequent use has been made of the historian Berosus. One word of defence and explanation may perhaps be necessary. Berosus was a Chaldæan priest, and a contemporary of Alexander the Great. He wrote a work on the Chaldee history in three books, compiling it, to use his own words, from many and ancient sources. Syncellus, however, pronounced him an impostor, and described his Assyrian chronology as a figment of his own invention. This opinion has been commended as "resting upon solid critical grounds" by that lamented scholar, Sir G. C. Lewis (*Histor. Survey of the Astron. of the Ancients*, p. 427, 1862). 'The Assyrian Kings of Berosus,' from Nabonassar, B.C. 747, to Cyrus, B.C. 538, he considered to be 'of an uncertain historical character' (id. p. 430). There can be no doubt that great caution is required in the use of Berosus. Of his works fragments only remain. (These are collected by Richter, *Berosi frag-*

[1] Baden Powell, 'On the Study of the Evidences of Christianity' (*Essays and Reviews*), p. 95.

menta, Lips. 1825, and Müller, *Fragm. histor. Græc.* Vol. II. p. 495. The portions relative to Babylonian history are extracted by Niebuhr and placed at the end of his *Gesch. Assurs*, &c. pp. 472 seq.). And of these fragments it seems doubtful whether the words are always those of Berosus. Most of the writers who quote him, Eusebius, Syncellus, Clemens Alex., Theophilus of Antioch, copy from one another, or from Josephus; and Josephus probably took his passages from Polyhistor (Nieb. p. 13). Naturally these facts necessitate reserve. But Berosus was not the less a genuine Babylonian writer. The existing remains embody facts extracted from the sources to which he had access. They have therefore a historical value, if not of a primary, at least of a secondary character; and when found to confirm, or to be confirmed by, other testimony, their weight is very great indeed. And, independently of the contributions to history furnished by these fragments, they contain passages illustrating the ancient Chaldee philosophy. Like the writings of Manetho and Sanchoniathon, the pages of Berosus, in spite of numerous contradictions, certainly enclose priceless relics of an almost extinct literature. (Renan, *Age and Antiquity of the Book of Nabatean Agriculture*, p. 3, London, 1862. *Hist. des Langues Sémitiques*, pp. 249–50.) It may be added here, that the value of the Canon of Ptolemy, Abydenus, and Herodotus, as authorities upon historical questions, is briefly discussed by Niebuhr, *Op. cit.* pp. 8—18.

CHAPTER VI.

B. *Miracles*[1].

Coupled with the purely historical contents of this Section, are statements of a miraculous and supernatural character. In one sense, these stand on their own ground. For critical purposes they must be separated from the external and supplementary indices of names, times and places. These may be called in again when other conditions altogether independent of such accretions are previously satisfied. But in the first instance miraculous narratives require examination on other grounds. For this reason. Were such narratives to rest entirely upon the historical notices with which any writer has connected them, the very presence of these indicative notes would suggest to many minds nothing but fraud and collusion. Some party-purpose, it would be said, or some fanatical tenet was intended by the promulgation of the miraculous story; and the objector would refer to the clear definitions of time, place, circumstances, and other points calcu-

[1] Since the greater part of this section was written, I have become acquainted with some remarks of the Bp. of S. David's (*Charge*, p. 26 seq. 1863), and an Article in the *Christian Remembrancer* for October, 1863, on the subject of Miracles. They are expressly directed against the views likewise combated in these pages; and I cannot but regret that I have been unable to avail myself of more than an occasional thought or expression. By the scholar as well as by the general reader they have been justly welcomed as the most valuable monographs hitherto published on the subject.

lated to overawe individual opinion, as indications of spuriousness. He would rightly estimate it the first effort of a forger to secure attention by circumstantiality and definiteness. The possibility and even the probability of this, and the consequent facility with which the wondrous story would be circulated and accepted, are familiar to all who have investigated the so-called miracles at the tomb of the Abbé Paris, or the still more modern imposture of La Salette.

And the miracles of Scripture do, in fact, appeal to posterity with a voice of their own. They demand acceptance for themselves as facts,—and those facts of a supernatural character[1]. As simple facts, they are naturally amenable to the rigorous scrutiny of historical and moral criticism. They are then matters of testimony rendered credible or not by their fulfilment or non-fulfilment of those historical and moral canons to which traditional facts are usually subjected. But as supernatural facts they are independent of this conventional limitation. They are still the subjects of intelligent criticism, but that a criticism founded upon the axiom 'Fides præcedit intellectum.'

To the supernatural aspect of miracles the attention must first be directed; not to bias or prejudice the thoughts towards a ready recognition of miracles as historical because supernatural:—that were to give colour to the taunt, that a 'belief in miracles is with the many wholly the *result* not the *antecedent* of faith[2]:'—but because the supernaturalness of miracles is the primary point disputed in modern times. 'It is not the mere *fact*, but the *cause* or *explanation* of the miracle[3]' that is

[1] Mansel, 'Miracles as Evidences of Christianity,' p. 3 (*Aids to Faith*, ed. 1861).

[2] Baden Powell, 'Study of the Evidences of Christianity,' p. 113 (*Essays and Reviews*, 5th ed. 1861).

[3] Id. p. 141.

debated. Some alleged miracles, it is allowed, were real facts; but then, it is added, they were not supernatural facts. They appeared so only to those ignorant of the laws of nature. Others, if they were ever wrought, were truly works of superhuman power, but then they ceased to be real facts,—for reasons to be stated presently. A few general remarks upon this theory is all that can be permitted to me as introductory to some brief observations upon the miracles recorded in the Book of Daniel.

'Miracles,' to use the words of their ablest opponent, 'unlike *essential doctrines*, the same 'yesterday, to-day and for ever,' are but '*external accessories* constituting a subject' varying 'of necessity with the successive phases of opinion and knowledge[1].' And connected with, or rather as the foundation of this severance of the miracle and doctrine, is the unanimous, however differently-attained, verdict of Hume and Woolston, Spinoza and Voltaire, Schleiermacher and Strauss, Baden Powell and Renan—that a miracle is impossible[2]. It is opposed to the 'better intelligence' of the times. It is rebellion against a 'superior enlightenment' to acknowledge it. By the moralist it is condemned as an act of confusion, and so impossible to be predicated of the God of law and order: any exceptional act would be unworthy of Him. By the metaphysician it is denounced as an interference with the human conception of God's infinite wisdom: any exceptional act implies previous deficiency; and such an implication strikes a fatal blow at Primal perfection. And to these 'successive phases of opinion[3],' is now to be

[1] Id. p. 94.

[2] Comp. Mill, *On the Mythical Interpretation of the Gospels*, pp. 79-80 (ed. Webb). 'Mankind is the miracle-worker,' said Strauss. 'He is ever subjecting nature to himself by steam-vessels, railroads, and the like. But as to the Anima Mundi, the Universal Spirit, it were quite absurd to abscribe to this any will and operation, otherwise than as physical laws work or human wills interfere with them' (Mill, p. 84).

[3] v. Trench *On Miracles*, Ch. v. 'The Assaults on the Miracles,' p. 59 seq.

added that around which 'modern illumination' has shed its most glowing and attractive light[1]. A belief in miracles is henceforward to be resigned as infringing the 'foundation-conception,' the 'primary law' of the 'universal order and constancy of natural causes,' viz. the 'impossibility of any modification whatsoever in the existing conditions of material agents unless through the invariable operation of a series of eternally impressed consequences following in some necessary chain of orderly connexion—however imperfectly known to us.' The miracle, an 'alleged external attestation of Revelation,' is 'one specially bearing on purely *physical* contemplations, and on which no general moral principles, no common rules of evidence or logical technicalities, can enable us to form a common judgment. It is not a question which can be decided by a few trite and common-place generalities as to the moral government of the world and the belief in the Divine Omnipotence,—or as to the validity of human testimony, or the limits of human experience. It involves and is essentially built upon those grander conceptions of the order of nature, those comprehensive primary elements of all physical knowledge, those ultimate ideas of universal causation, which can only be familiar to those thoroughly versed in cosmical philosophy in its widest sense.' 'New modes of speculation,' it is fearlessly announced, 'new forms of scepticism have invaded the domain of that settled belief which a past age has been accustomed to rest on a Paleyan syllogism. The modern turn of reasoning rather adopts the belief that a revelation is most credible when it appeals least to violation[2] of natural causes. If miracles were in

(6th ed. 1858), for a statement and a refutation of the opinions of the predecessors of Baden Powell and Renan.

[1] Baden Powell, pp. 108, 127, 133. Renan, *Études d'Histoire Religieuse*, Préface, and the Essay, 'Les Historiens Critiques de Jésus.'

[2] The injustice of this definition of a miracle has been pointed out over and over again from the days of S. Augustine to the present. How full of depth is the following 'sentence.' 'Si ordo rerum consideretur prout dependet a

the estimation of a former age among the chief *supports* of Christianity, they are at present among the main *difficulties* and hindrances to its acceptance.'

This then is the ground upon which miracles are now opposed: they are impossible on scientific premises; such as no reasonable man would reject in any other case. And evidently this opposition is altogether independent of any questions of historical testimony or probability. It strikes at the supernaturalness of the miracles, and if the blow prove fatal, all further discussion may be dismissed as unnecessary either for offence or defence.

Now the firmest believer in Scripture miracles recognises equally with his opponent 'the most rigid prevalence of law and necessary sequence among purely material phenomena[1].' As S. Augustine[2] long ago expressed it: 'God, the Founder and Creator of all nature, does nothing contrary to nature.' But the holy man added to his statement what is disputed by one, repudiated by another, that 'God does sometimes what is contrary to what we consider the wonted course of nature.' Here lies the root of the difference. It is a question of the affirmation or negation of a supernatural agent. 'The negation of the supernatural,'

primâ causâ, sic contra rerum ordinem Deus facere non potest. Si enim sic faceret, faceret *contra* suam præscientiam aut voluntatem aut bonitatem. Si vero consideretur rerum ordo, prout dependet a quâlibet secundarum causarum, sic Deus potest facere *præter* ordinem rerum; quia ordini secundarum causarum ipse non est subjectus; sed talis ordo ei subjicitur, quasi ab eo procedens, non per necessitatem naturæ sed per arbitrium voluntatis; potuisset enim et alium ordinem rerum instituere' (S. Thom. Aquinas, *Summa Theolog.* Pars i. qu. 105, art. 6).

[1] Mansel, 'Essay on Miracles as Evidences of Christianity' (*Aids to Faith*, 1861), p. 19.

[2] *Contra Faust. Manich.* Lib. XXVI. cap. 3. 'Deus creator et conditor omnium naturarum nihil contra naturam facit. Sed contra naturam non incongrue dicimus aliquid Deum facere, quod fecit contra id quod novimus in naturâ. Hanc enim etiam appellamus naturam, cognitum nobis cursum solitumque naturæ, contra quem Deus cum aliquid facit magnalia vel mirabilia nomiuantur. Contra illam vero summam naturæ legem, à notitiâ remotam,...tam Deus nullo modo facit quam contra se ipsum non facit.' Cf. S. Thom. Aquin. *Summa Theol. l. c.*

says M. Renan[1], 'is an essential principle of criticism. And by supernatural,' he continues in a note, 'I mean, the miracle: a particular act, that is, of the Divinity inserting itself into the series of events visible in the physical and physiological world, and disturbing the course of facts in the presence of a special government of humanity.' The opinion is firmly and decisively advanced, though its assertion necessarily entails the denial of God's Personality. Pushed to its logical sequence it substitutes 'an over-ruling and all-pervading supreme Intelligence' for a Creator[2]. God becomes simply a moral and æsthetic Ideal.

But though the remark,—that Creation is only another name for our ignorance of the mode of production,—may be true, however jarring in expression, when applied to abstractions, yet the statement must be felt strangely inadequate when applied to the miracles of Scripture. If those miracles are to be gauged by the assertion that since 'the boundaries of nature exist only where our *present* knowledge places them, the inevitable progress of research must within a longer or shorter period unravel all that seems most marvellous'—then is the subject at once reduced to a purely materialistic level. The stipulation is not now surprising that 'a belief in Divine interposition' must be viewed as 'essentially dependent on what we *pre-*

[1] *Études d'Histoire Religieuse*, p. 137 (3me. Ed. Par. 1858). 'L'essence de la critique est la négation du surnaturel....J'entends ici par le surnaturel le *miracle*, c'est-à-dire, un acte particulier de la Divinité, venant s'insérer dans la série des événements du monde physique et physiologique, et dérangeant le cours des faits en vue d'un gouvernement spécial de l'humanité.' Cf. *Préf.* p. vii. 'La critique, dont le premier principe est que le miracle n'a point de place dans la série des faits de la nature.'

[2] Bad. Pow. p. 126; Renan, pp. 418–9. 'Dieu c'est lui qui est, et tout le reste qui parait être....Dieu, Providence, immortalité, tant de bons vieux mots, un peu lourds peut-être, que la philosophie interprétera dans des sens de plus en plus raffinés....Sous une forme ou sous une autre, Dieu sera tonjours le résumé de nos besoins suprasensibles, *la catégorie de l'idéal* (c'est-à-dire les formes sous lesquelles nous concevons l'idéal), comme l'espace et le temps sont les *catégories des corps* (c'est-à-dire les formes sous lesquelles nous concevons le corps).'

viously admit with respect to the *Divine attributes*, and 'the credibility of miracles on the precise view taken of the Divine attributes *prior* to our admission of revelation;' because this 'precise view' thus restricted enables its supporter to assert that 'Divine Omnipotence is entirely an inference *from the language of the Bible* adopted on the *assumption* of a belief in Revelation[1].' It must be felt, as Renan[2] himself points out, that discussion on such subjects is hopeless between the high philosophical school and the theologian. They have no ground in common. The believer necessarily comes to this subject with a foregone conclusion[3]. The denial of the reality of the miracles of the Old and New Testaments is impossible to him, consistently with his belief in the Personality of God and His power as a personal agent. The miracle is to him[4] neither a violation of the course of nature, nor an abnormal action of natural and known causes: it is, as far as definition can reach to it, a special interposition of Divine power, an occurrence evidencing a supernatural agent.

But this statement of what is from its mysteriousness incapable of satisfactory and exhaustive definition, is met by the counter-assertion[5] that the miracle is now 'merged into the doctrines with which it is connected.' It is removed to another sphere, and 'associated with the declaration of spiritual things, which are, as such, exempt from those criticisms to which physical statements are necessarily amenable.' The advocate of miracles is told that he has gone 'out of nature and beyond science' for his apprehension of a physical event. He has carried his conception of a miracle into that 'boundless region of spiritual things which is the sole dominion of *faith*.' The position of the inductionist that 'in nature and from nature, by

[1] Baden Powell, p. 113.
[2] *Préface*, p. vii. Comp. pp. ix. 206.
[3] Heurtley on 'Miracles,' p. 142 (*Replies to Essays and Reviews*, 1862).
[4] Mansel, p. 16.
[5] Bad. Pow. pp. 127, 143.

science and by reason, we neither have nor can possibly have any evidence of a *Deity working miracles*,' is not to be said to be shaken by arguments unsuited to inductive reasoning. And here, again, must it not be felt that the supporter and impugner of miracles have nothing in common? The inductionist builds up two parallel kingdoms, one of science, the other of faith. He rears them in one and the same mind, but he will not permit the one to intrude into the province of the other. Faith must not intermeddle with the world of nature. The physical phenomenon must not be encircled by a supernatural haze. An alternative is proposed. If an 'alleged miracle be regarded abstractedly as a physical event,' it must be referred to physical causes known, or if at present unknown, ultimately to be explained; but then it ceases to be supernatural, 'though it may still be appealed to in support of religious truth, especially as referring to the state of knowledge and apprehension of the parties addressed in past ages.' Or, on the other hand, 'connect the miracle with a religious doctrine, regard it in a sacred light, assert it on the authority of inspiration;' but then let it be admitted that it 'ceases to be capable of investigation by reason, or to own its dominion; it is accepted on religious grounds, and can appeal only to the principle and influence of faith. It passes beyond the domain of physical causation, and the possible conceptions of *intellect* or *knowledge*.' Again: this severance of reasoning faith and reasoning science as regards the miracles of Scripture is impossible to one who considers their union affirmed and verified by the life and testimony of the Founder of Christianity. The 'alleged miracle' of Scripture if accepted on religious grounds is so accepted because a physical event. It is the very physical character of the miracle which supports the religious truth of the doctrine it originally assisted to promulgate. 'The miracle of Scripture[1],' is 'not the infraction of a law, but

[1] Trench, *On Miracles*, pp. 16–7.

a lower law of nature neutralised, and for the time put out of working by a higher. This world of ours is then drawn into and within a higher order of things; laws are then at work in the world which are not the laws of its fallen condition, for they are laws of mightier range and higher perfection. In this present world lower laws are seen to be held in restraint by higher, mechanic by dynamic, chemical by vital, physical by moral.' It is this submission of the lesser to the greater which the scientific opponent of the miracle declines to recognise[1]. The fact is overlooked that the world contains other elements besides material, other forces besides physical. There are personal agents, Divine and human, besides an ideal intelligence however supreme, or an elaborating nature. 'The phenomena of matter,' said Sir W. Hamilton[2], 'taken by themselves, as the inductionist insists, do not warrant any inference to the existence of a God.' 'Nature conceals God,' said another philosopher[3], 'Man reveals Him.' The class of phenomena requiring that kind of cause denominated a Deity is exclusively given to the phenomena of mind. 'It is[4] from the little world of human consciousness, with its many objects marshalled in array under the rule of one conscious mind, that men are led to the thought of the great universe beyond. The conception is realised that this is a world of order and design by virtue of its relation to an ordering and presiding mind.' God is Designer, Creator, Preserver, a real Personal Being, not 'a mere soul of the world, or an intelligence manifested in a system of material phenomena.' The Personality of God must be the 'primary and fundamental idea of God in any distinctive sense of the word,—an idea without which no religion,

[1] Heurtley, p. 148.

[2] *Lectt. on Metaphysics*, I. p. 26. Quoted in Mansel, p. 25.

[3] Jacobi, in Sir W. Hamilton's *Lectt. on Metaphysics*, p. 40. Cf. Trench p. 20.

[4] Mansel, pp. 26–7.

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no theology, no feeling of a spiritual relation between God and man, and no conception of a mind superior to nature, can have any existence.' And if the world is governed not only by physical but by moral laws; if too, in this government, moral laws are superior to physical, matter subordinate to mind, creation to a Creator, then must the question concerning the possibility of miracles be judged not merely upon physical, but primarily and principally upon moral grounds. The phenomena of the material world give a certain evidence, but it is of a kind inferior to that furnished by the moral nature of man. That sympathetic nature alone is capable of rising to the God to whom multifarious nature bears witness. The believer in divinely-attested miracles makes the effort to act upon this truth. He does not, he cannot, disguise from himself the difficulties encompassing the subject; but he finds it more accordant with the dignity and majesty of the Divine nature to elevate the tribunal of appeal from secondary to primary causes, and to refer to the latter effects which the former can never adequately solve.

As regards, then, the general question of the *possibility* of miracles, Paley's criticism is the true one; 'once believe that there is a God, and miracles are not incredible.' And with this recognition of God as a personal agent, it is not difficult to see that physical science casts its weight into the scale in favour of the supernatural character of the Scripture miracles. Professor Mansel[1] has pointed out that 'in whatever proportion our knowledge of physical causation is limited, and the number of unknown natural agents comparatively large, in the same proportion is the probability that some of these unknown causes acting in some unknown manner may have given rise to the alleged marvels.' But as the unravelling of the marvellous in other phenomena proceeds, it only serves to leave 'the mighty works wrought by the finger of God, in their soli-

[1] pp. 13–4.

tary grandeur, unapproached and unapproachable by all the knowledge and all the power of man.' Wherever personal agency is recorded as concerned, it is a lawful assumption that just 'in proportion as the science of the day surpasses that of former generations, so is the improbability that any man could have done in past times, by natural means, works which no skill of the present age is able to imitate.' Scientific progress itself gradually eliminates all reference of the unexplained Scripture miracles to unknown natural or secondary causes, and reduces the question of their actual occurrence to a matter of historical testimony. Criticism has to deal with no hypothetical case, but with actual events attested as matters of fact, and submitted to investigation by those who recount them. Those events either never occurred at all, or they were accompanied by marks of a consciously-exercised supernatural power such as the sacred historian has described. It is a question now not of science but of testimony.

But here arises an objection, which if valid, would be fatal. 'No testimony, it is said, can reach to the supernatural[1].' 'Testimony is but a second-hand assurance, a blind guide; it can avail nothing against reason.' 'Alleged miracles may have been real facts, but then they were not supernatural; they were such to those only who were ignorant of the laws of nature.' The very testimony adduced in support of these miracles 'can apply only to apparent and sensible facts. It can only prove an extraordinary and perhaps inexplicable occurrence or phenomenon. That it was due to supernatural causes is entirely dependent on the previous belief and assumption of the parties.' But this humiliation of the power of testimony, though possibly true in hypothetical cases selected here and there, is singularly inapplicable to works recorded as due to the "finger of God[2]." The testimony supporting those works,

[1] Bad. Pow. pp. 107, 141. [2] Mansel, p. 7.

whether wrought under the Old or New Dispensations is of a peculiar character. In no case do they rest solely on the testimony of a mere spectator. In the New Testament, the testimony is that of the performer of the miracle (S. Matt. xii. 28, Acts iv. 10); in the Old, when not that of the Performer, it is that of one who stood in the closest possible connection with a Personal God—the God of Israel;—one therefore conscious of the interposition of a Divine power at work for some Divine purpose altogether beyond the apprehension of a spectator.

Of the miracles of the New Testament I can have no occasion to speak. The likenesses and unlikenesses existing between them and those wrought under the older dispensation are such as were naturally to be expected[1]. They have a necessary likeness, extending even to physical description, since the 'old and new Covenants form part of one organic whole; and it is ever God's law that the lower should contain the germs and prophetic intimations of the higher.' They have also a necessary unlikeness, 'since the very idea of God's kingdom is that of progress, of a gradually fuller communication and larger revelation of Himself to men; so that He who in times past spake unto the fathers by the prophets, did at length speak unto us by His Son.' It was only meet that this Son should be clothed with mightier powers than they[2]. The one, in fact, can only be rightly estimated in connection with the other: the miracle of the Old Testament represents but a more remote grade of one and the same revelation. It seems natural to ascribe most of the miracles of the older Dispensation to the *immediate* agency of Almighty

[1] Vid. S. Cyril of Alex. (Cram. *Cat. in Luc.* v. 12), and Eusebius, *Dem. Evang.* III. 2, upon this subject; also Pearson, *On the Creed*, Art. II. pp. 161–3 (ed. Chevallier, Camb. 1849). It is worthy of note that the likeness extends even to description. The Miracles of the Old Testament are called ἔργα (Heb. iii. 9; Ps. xciv. 9, LXX.); the very word most frequently used by S. John to define our Lord's Miracles (v. 36; x. 25, 32, 38; xiv. 11).

[2] Trench, p. 35 seq.

God, evoked by particular occasions. Independently of their ultimate purpose of affording evidence of Divine interposition, they had also an immediate and temporary purpose. They were signs of a Personal God, and so of His Fatherly care and protection. A moral character was thus attached to the works wrought. Not only did they testify to the Power and the Glory of the Agent performing them, but also to His other attributes. Miracles were raised from a mere *θαῦμα μώροις*—a matter of senseless wonder, to a *σημεῖον*, a sign of the kingdom of Heaven.

The miracles of the Old Testament have been grouped around the great epochs in the history of the theocratic kingdom[1]. They shed a supernatural glory over its foundation under Moses and Joshua; its monarchy under Elijah and Elisha[2]; and its captivity, the time of the first great national depression, under Daniel. These latter had a retrospective purpose in establishing, energising, and preserving the Mosaic covenant, 'itself a supernatural system, provided with supernatural institutions;' but they had also a prospective aim in preparing equally with the first the way for the final consummation of God's supernatural Providence in the Incarnation of the Only-Begotten. Connected with this preparatory element was the particular sphere in which they were exhibited[3]. External nature was their special domain. The waters of seas and rivers were parted asunder: the earth opened her mouth (Numb. xvi. 31); fire descended from heaven (1 Kings xviii. 38; 2 Kings i. 10—2); furnaces refused to consume their victims (Dan. iii.); wild beasts laid aside their ferocious nature (1 Kings xiii. 24, 28; Dan. vi. 8, 22). But none of these were abnormal interpositions. They did not violate God's general purpose of carrying on the world by the ordinary laws of nature. Consistently also with this peculiarity of

[1] Mansel, p. 9.
[2] Davison, *On Prophecy*, p. 178 (7th edition, 1861).
[3] Trench, p. 38.

the earlier miracles is their form. Wrought most frequently in the presence of the giant powers of heathendom, they are marked by giant and overawing proportions. It was a time when the God of Israel curbed and broke the defiant spirit of the votary of Phra and the worshipper of Bel. 'The miracles of Egypt, and the miracles of Babylon were eminently miracles of strength.' Humanly speaking it was needful that it should be so, for 'under the influence of the nature-worship of those lands, all religion had assumed a colossal grandeur. Compared with our Lord's works, wrought in the days of His flesh—those of the Old Testament were as the whirlwind and the fire, His as the still small voice which followed. In that olden time God was teaching not only His own people but also the nations with whom His people was brought into contact, that He who had entered into covenant with one among many nations was not one God among many, the god of the hills or the god of the plains (1 Kings xx. 23), but the Lord of the whole earth[1].' And these miracles are as much reducible to law as those of the New Testament. They illustrate no exception to, but the rule of God's actions. They are the outposts of that vast system of Divine power which reaches far beyond the range of physical conception and yet lies within the experience of every soul. Considering them especially as facts, as actually introducing to the heathen world a knowledge of God, their testimony to the supernatural is most striking. They refer their origin to an Almighty interposition quite as distinctly as did our Lord and His apostles. To speak only of those mentioned in the Book of Daniel. The 'three children,' were at the mercy of the enraged monarch; but before the flames bathed their bodies they distinctly declared that there was but ONE who could deliver them. Presently the confession was heard; 'the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego hath sent His angel and delivered His servants who trusted

[1] Cf. Davison, p. 182.

in Him.' Daniel himself, when answering the cry of his remorseful master, was no less explicit: 'my God hath sent His angel, and hath shut the lions' mouths that they have not hurt me.' The revellers assembled at Belshazzar's feast shrank in terror from the awful apparition of the 'finger of God.' It was a 'voice from heaven' which fell on the ears of Nebuchadnezzar while the boast was still upon his lips. It was 'the God of his fathers' who revealed to the prophet the dream of the Babylonian king, and saved His own servant's life. What are all these but testimonies reaching to the supernatural? They are not those of mere spectators, but of those who were themselves the subjects of the miraculous interference. Those miracles were not every-day events. They belonged to no cycle in the recurring phenomena of nature. And if they are credibly attested as facts, they cannot be put aside as unmeaning or isolated anomalies. They form rather[1] 'a fore-ordained and orderly system of powers, working above the ordinary course of nature because their end is above nature. The unresting activity of God, which at other times hides and conceals itself behind the veil of what are termed natural laws, does in the miracle unveil itself: it steps out from its concealment and the hand which works is laid bare[2].' Higher powers as bearing upon higher ends make themselves felt besides and beyond the ordinary operations of nature and the simpler manifestations of a Protector's love. There is little justice in the argument that all such miraculous events are incredible, because wrought in a manner opposed to the conception of a Divine Being current in the present day. Modern opinion can never be the judge of the form or of the conditions of miracles wrought at a period with which it has so little in common.

Sadly but too truly has it been written[3] upon this subject of miracles, that 'there remains only the choice between a

[1] Mansel, pp. 10–1.

[2] Trench, p. 12.

[3] Mansel, p. 15.

deeper faith and a bolder unbelief; between accepting the sacred narrative as a true account of miracles actually performed, and rejecting it as wholly fictitious and incredible; whether the fiction be attributed to a gradual accretion of mythical elements, or to the conscious fabrication of a wilful impostor.' It is a pure question of alternative; and modern scepticism has not hesitated to accept in the case of the Book of Daniel that which reverses the creed of ages. It is of little purpose to veil the ugliness of the word—forgery—under the sentimentalism of a parænetical object. Those who propound this explanation disclaim indeed for the forger all intention to deceive, but they forget the logical consequence of their explanation. It includes under one indiscriminate charge of conscious support of fraud—Prophet and Saviour (if their words have a plain meaning), Priest and Rabbi, the Jewish and the Christian Church,—all, in short who have ever borne testimony to the belief that the Book of Daniel contains facts handed down by the Prophet whose name it bears.

It is allowed by Professor Powell[1] that the marvellous history of remote times cannot be subjected to precisely the same critical scrutiny employed to examine the modern marvel. And though it will always 'remain a duty to obtain, if possible, some rational clue to the interpretation of the alleged wonderful narrative; though modern instances are not wanting to prove that under the supernatural language of a rude age, it is sometimes possible to find some real natural phenomenon truly described according to the existing state of knowledge:' yet can it be safely affirmed that 'in other cases where such marvels may seem still more to militate against historical probability, and where attempts at explanation seem irrational,' that there we may be led to 'prefer the supposition *that the narrative itself was of a designedly fictitious or poetical nature*'? In the case of the Scripture miracles can a 'supposition'

[1] *Order of Nature*, pp. 274–5.

hold its ground against a historically-attested fact? or a physical negative overrule a supernatural affirmative? Yet this is the conclusion of that school which acts upon the principle that parable and myth often include more truth than history. Happily there are others, who employing the same means of philosophic investigation, of critical and philological research, yet attain a different result. There are men who will examine first upon critical and archæological grounds the documentary evidence supporting a miraculous narrative, and that satisfactorily decided, do not find it difficult to allow that whatever in that narrative is beyond the range of human knowledge and above the course of nature familiar to them—is also beyond the range of philosophical speculation. The bold paradox of Tertullian[1] comes back to memory to illustrate the rationale of the miracle

Certum est quia impossibile.

In all such matters reason itself must rest upon authority[2]. The original data of reason do not rest upon reason, but are necessarily accepted by reason on the authority of what is beyond itself. These data are therefore in rigid propriety *beliefs* or *trusts*. It is in truth a necessary philosophical admission that belief is the primary condition of reason, and not reason the ultimate ground of belief. The proud heart of man has to learn to surrender the 'intellige ut credas' of Abelard, and content itself with the humble 'crede ut intelligas' of S. Anselm.

[1] 'It is an exaggerated mode of stating, that a Christian readily admits on the authority of revelation, that which men who rely solely on the conclusions of their own reason, pronounce impossible.' Kaye, *On Tertullian*, p. xxx. (3rd edition, 1845).

[2] Sir W. Hamilton. Reid's *Works*, note A, sect. 5.

CHAPTER VII.

C. *The Prophecies.*

Closely connected with the Miracles of the Book of Daniel, are its Prophecies. They constitute the second of the two[1] external sensible proofs by which this servant of God convinced the world of his divine commission. 'Miracles,' says one of the greatest of living Divines[2], 'by virtue of the Creative and Revealing Presence apparent in them, offer to all conscientious minds the clearest of proofs. Prophecy, from its embracing at once events of which living men might judge, and the history of the far distant future, performs the function of a witness to every age.' They are separately and together energetic displays of the 'demonstration of the spirit and of power[3],' and therefore only different modes of operation of one and the same Cause. The position allotted to Miracle in the department of action, is accorded to Prophecy in the department of knowledge. Consequently the contemporaries of Daniel welcomed their captive brother as a 'teacher come from God,' and the belief of our Lord and His Apostles has sanctified the opinion. He was one of the Prophets 'by whom God at sundry times and in divers manners spake in times past.' (Heb. i. 1.)

[1] Lee, *The Inspiration of Holy Scripture*, p. 227 (2nd edition, 1857).
[2] Id. [3] ἀποδείξεως πνεύματος καὶ δυνάμεως, 1 Cor. ii. 4.

Now whatever differences of opinion may be lawfully permitted in the discussion of any question, it is the essence of all profitable discussion that it should be temperately and dispassionately conducted. The very reverse would seem to be the practice when the Prophecies of Daniel are in question. The usually accepted or 'traditional' view has been supported as well as combated with a bitterness and hostility thoroughly incompatible with either Christian feeling or intelligent criticism. It is well known that these prophecies have furnished the battle-field of the most antagonistic opinions. That was not to be prevented, nor perhaps to be regretted, had the vanquished known how and when it is honourable to confess a defeat. But this is seldom the case. The exposure of the falseness of this or that tenet is casuistically wrested to its honour. It is defended with a pertinacity wilfully ignorant of deference to age, learning, and authority. To read the modern critical and exegetical literature of the Prophecies of Daniel is to peruse writings tainted by a bitterness and personality as fierce as that which envenomed the controversy between a Jerome and a Ruffinus. There is much of the hard language of a Bossuet, little of the Christian courtesy of a Bellarmin. Yet surely the primary source of difference—that of interpretation and reference—should be the last even to suggest hostility. To an impartial spectator of this war of opinion, where every one 'hath a doctrine.....a revelation, an interpretation,' there is something peculiarly painful in the vehemence with which individual views are dictatorially affirmed. It would seem that the sciolists of all parties have altogether forgotten the charitable maxim of the saint of Hippo: 'in necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus caritas.'

The symbolical and external features of the Prophecies have necessarily suffered from this treatment. By one section of writers little consideration is permitted to the fact that purely critical phenomena are independent of

exegetical preconceptions. The former are made subservient to the latter, often with a most illegal disregard of the laws of philology and the 'usus verborum.' By another, a disposition is manifested to deny all but the most narrow and one-sided conception of Prophecy. Modern opinion sits in judgment upon the views handed down by the Saviour and His Apostles, and has no hesitation in deciding that they were conformable to the spirit and information of that age alone. They are not to be considered binding upon the more enlightened, more philosophical conceptions of to-day. I do not pretend to follow each section through the very questionable processes by which they attain their respective conclusions; but certainly it were much to be wished that a little of the critical acumen of the one might be transferred to the other, and a measure of the reverence of the 'traditionalist' delegated to the 'modern.' Neither school would then have such angry strokes for that third and increasing class of critics, which claims to hold the authenticity of the Book of Daniel, and yet apply to its Prophecies the tests of linguistic and historical canons.

These Prophecies may be conveniently divided into two sections: the first that of the 'four world-powers or kingdoms;' the second that of the 'seventy weeks.' In accordance with the limits and scope of the present Essay I can only endeavour to give a very brief outline of the systems of *interpretation* applied to these sections. The authenticity of the book does not depend upon *that*, though it may be necessary to allude to its most prominent features before proceeding to discuss the *form* under which the Prophecies are presented, that outer shell in which they are encased.

§ 1. *The Four Kingdoms.*

Chs. II. VII.

It is generally, and rightly, admitted that the same four powers or kingdoms are described in the 2nd and 7th Chapters[1]. The fourfold partition of the respective symbols, the various minutiæ of analogy and agreement indicate a coincidence which is transformed into certainty by the literal interpretation annexed to and completing the revelation of those visions[2]. Of itself the duplication is not unimportant; it adds to the steadiness and confidence of the prediction. Existing differences of imagery have been rightly attributed to a difference of character in the revelation[3]. In Ch. II. the powers are taken from the sphere of the inanimate, and represent the purely external and unconscious side of the subject. In Ch. VII. they are chosen from the sphere of the animate, and illustrate typically the living conscious element of the prophecy. Nebuchadnezzar saw things only from without. The world's-power to him was in its fullest glory but a splendid human form, a colossal figure bearing the outward appearance of a man; the power of God's kingdom, in its highest splendour but humble as a 'stone cut without hands.' Daniel penetrated deeper into the vision. He saw that the kingdoms of the world were, notwithstanding their defiant attitude, of a nature animal, plastic, and lower than human. Pagan minds were exhibited to him dulled and ignorant of God, as the image, however costly, is ignorant of its maker. Only in the kingdom of God, that humble cornerstone 'coming not with observation,' was embosomed all

[1] S. Hippolytus, p. 177 (ed. Lagarde); and so by the majority of critics English and German.

[2] Davison, *On Prophecy*, p. 355.

[3] Auberlen, p. 45.

that was powerful and eternal. Accordingly to the prophet the kingdom of God is from the very outset, superior to the kingdoms of the world. Gold, silver, brass, iron—the puppet-work of man's hands, is ground to powder by the stone, the work cut without hands.

But with the recognition of identity of subject, ceases all unanimity of opinion. The critical and theological world has ever been at issue upon the identification of these four kingdoms. There have been two[1] main views upon this point, called by a not very just distinction, the 'traditional' and the 'modern.'

The 'traditional' opinion is traced back by its supporters to the 4th Book of Ezra[2] (2 Esdras), the writings of S. Barnabas[3] and S. Hippolytus[4]. It has been handed down to modern times under the high sanction of the majority of the early Fathers[5]. It is adopted by the Jonathan-Targum[6], Josephus[7], the Talmud[8], R. Albo[9], and others; and it is advocated by a very large proportion of English and German commentators. The four kingdoms are according to this system; the Babylonian, the Medo-Persian, the Macedo-Grecian, and the Roman.

This interpretation is perfectly satisfactory when tested by the mere imagery of the two chapters. None are so ready to grant this as those who yet oppose the interpretation. But there exists a certain connection between the

[1] For others, *e.g.* those of Bertholdt and Herzfeld, Redepenning and Hitzig, vid. the usual commentaries.

[2] On this identification, opposed by Hilgenfeld and Volkmar, *v.* Westcott, 'Esdras, Second Book of' (Smith's *Dict. of Bible*), Vol. i. pp. 578–9.

[3] Ch. iv. p. 5, *PP. App. Op.*, ed. Dressel. Leipz. 1857.

[4] pp. 151 seq., 171–2, ed. Lagarde.

[5] These are collected *int. al.* by Hofmann, *Weissagung u. Erfüllung*, Part i. pp. 276–96.

[6] On *Hab.* iii. 17 (Buxt. *Bibl. Rabb. in loco*).

[7] *Ant.* x. 11; 4, 7. This is denied by Hooper.

[8] Bereshit-Rabba, ch. xliv.; Tanchuma, 31 *c.* [Herzfeld, *Gesch. d. Volk. Isr.* Vol. i. p. 422 (1855)]; Maor. fol. 42. 2 (Zündel, p. 82).

[9] *Sepher Ikkarim*, ch. xlii. (*Hebr. Rev.* iii. p. 380).

facts of these chapters, and those narrated in subsequent portions of the Book, which to the 'modern' mind renders the interpretation improbable if not impossible. The history of the growth of this traditional view has been thus explained[1]. The Church in the Apostolic age believed, and was permitted in the Providence of God to believe that the end of the world, the 'finishing of the mystery of God' was at hand, even at the doors. The long interval of conflict which has followed the first Advent formed no place in the anticipations of the first Christians. They could not but believe that their own age was that of the fourth empire—the Roman empire—the last in the series of earthly kingdoms[2]. And if at that time they were not concerned to test their belief by tracing critically the realization of the prophetic symbols through the page of history, in succeeding ages the generally received opinion was devoutly retained. The Fathers continued to look for one who should revive the policy of Augustus: the empire, they believed, was but to pass into other hands, not to be changed nor dissolved[3]. Consequently the Roman period was prolonged to meet the requirements of the theory. And yet, it has been urged[4], the text itself of prophecy should have suggested caution in pressing this application. The fourth empire was to exist till the coming of the Ancient of days (vii. 22, 26-27). That time has not even yet arrived, while the Roman empire, 'the empire founded by Romulus and ruled over by Augustus and Constantine, has passed through its regular decline and fall to absolute extinction. Those who are hard pressed by the exigency of system may attempt to make a show of nominal empire; and by long habit, readers and writers of commentaries

[1] Browne, *Ordo Sæclorum*, p. 678. It is well stated by Westcott.

[2] S. Hippolytus calls it, ἡ βασιλεία ἡ κραοῦσα νῦν (p. 179).

[3] Id. Quoted by Browne, p. 679, n. 1.

[4] Maitland. Quoted by Browne, p. 676.

on the prophecies have come to give and receive very marvellous interpretations with great gravity.' But this is to avoid not to meet the dilemma suggested by the very letter of the text. Christians are now 'beginning to learn slowly and very reluctantly' that the Roman empire cannot be that intended by the prophet.

From this it is evident that, in the opinion of the 'modern' school,—not the study of the integral text by the aid of a deeper philology;—not the elucidation of historical allusions by the light of the most pertinent events, but an attachment to a theory has mainly contributed to preserve and perpetuate the existence of the 'Traditionalist' interpretation. A stated line of opinion was early marked out. It suited well the belief and the conditions of a patristic age. But as time proved the misapplication of one point, and the necessity of rectifying a second, the struggle began which has reached down to the present century. There were some who thought it no unwise act to confess previous views incomplete. There were others who by an excess of prudence rather than of critical discernment preferred the established opinion, and ventured to pronounce dissent an act of exceeding presumption. And so it has happened, says the 'modern' objector, that changes of subject are freely asserted where they are contextually indefensible; the integrity of a typical section is marred and robbed of its real significance by arbitrary dismemberment. Historical anachronisms are endured and defended; allusions explained; numbers squared;—and all to suit a theory contradicted by the simple letter of the text.

A second interpretation grew up soon after the first. It allotted the 'four kingdoms' to Babylonia, Media, Persia, and Greece. The 'fathers' of this, the 'modern' view were Ephraem Syrus (300-50 A.D.), Cosmas Indicopleustes (c. A.D. 535) and others[1]. In more recent times the cele-

[1] Bleek, p. 65, *Jahrb. f. Deutsche Theol.* 1860.

brated Aben Ezra[1] and R. Hyam Gallieppo[2] adopted it; and in addition to many critics, past and present, the mention of whose names is generally sufficient to ensure rejection to the view they adopt,—it has been commended and supported by such staunch defenders of the faith as Maitland, Delitzsch, Westcott, Browne, and Hooper[3].

I cannot permit myself to enter here into a full consideration of these respective views; but perhaps the accompanying table[4] of the two series of prophecies will remove the necessity of approximating all the likenesses and unlikenesses observable, and at the same time furnish an easy reference for the examination of some of the points which have induced the various disputants to yield their assent to this or that opinion. From that table may be deduced the following position[5]. There is a clear and unambiguous statement of the rise of four kingdoms; the four not to be contemporaneous, but successive; not originating from the same power, but diverse one from another; not confined to the sway of a domestic sceptre, but kingdoms of conquest and power, bearing rule over the subject-nations. An extension of dominion is predicated of the third, an exceeding strength of the fourth. In a word, there is here a conspicuous and connected prophecy of the most comprehensive changes and revolutions wrought on the face of the ancient world.

[1] Browne, p. 675.

[2] Quoted by R. Albo, *Sepher Ikkarim*, ch. XLII.; Herzfeld, *op. cit.* p. 422, gives Rabbinical references of the fourth kingdom to the Persians and Arabians.

[3] *The Prophecies of Daniel collated and expounded*, p. 4 seq. (1861). The opinions of these critics, and of those who agree with them, will be found in the works already cited. Mr Birks, *The Four Prophetic Empires, &c.* p. 12 (1844), gives others. He himself adopts the 'traditional' view.

[4] Compiled from that by Bunsen, *Gott in d. Geschichte*, Vol. I. p. 302 seq.

[5] Davison, p. 356.

THE FOUR KINGDOMS.

CHAPTER II. THE VISION OF THE IMAGE.	CHAPTER VII. THE VISION OF THE BEASTS.	CHAPTER VIII. THE VISION OF THE RAM AND THE HE-GOAT.	CHAPTERS XI. XII. THE VISION OF KINGS OF PERSIA AND OF GREECE.
THE GOLDEN KINGDOM.	THE FIRST KINGDOM.		
v. 32. Head of *gold* = Nebuchadnezzar, *v.* 38.	*v.* 4. *Lion* with eagle's wings, and a man's heart.		
THE SILVER KINGDOM.	THE SECOND KINGDOM.		
v. 32. Arms and breast of *silver* = 'another kingdom inferior to thee' (Neb.) *v.* 39.	*v.* 5. The *Bear* with three ribs between its teeth devouring much flesh.		
THE KINGDOM OF BRASS.	THE THIRD KINGDOM.	THE RAM WITH TWO HORNS.	THE KINGS OF PERSIA.
v. 32. Belly and thighs of *brass* = 'a kingdom which shall bear rule over all the earth' *v.* 39.	*v.* 6. The *Leopard* with 'four wings of a fowl and four heads,' 'dominion given unto it.'	*v.* 3. The greater horn came up last. It pushed towards W., N. and S. (*v.* 4) = 'Kings of Media and Persia' (*v.* 20).	xi. 2, 3. After 'Darius the Mede'—the first Cyrus, the fourth 'richer than them all.' Through his riches he rebels against King of 'Græcia.'
THE KINGDOM OF IRON.	THE FOURTH KINGDOM.		THE KINGDOM OF GRÆCIA (xi. 3.)
v. 33. The legs of *iron:* the feet partly iron, partly clay = 'a kingdom strong as iron' (*v.* 40). 'Breaking in pieces and bruising.' It shall be divided as 'iron mixed with miry clay,' because 'there shall be in it of the strength of iron' (*v.* 41), the kingdom shall be	*v.* 7. A *Beast diverse* from all Beasts = a kingdom 'diverse from all kingdoms' (*v.* 23). With *iron* teeth, 'dreadful, terrible, and strong exceedingly:' 'devouring, breaking in pieces, and stamping the residue with the feet.' It had ten horns = ten kings (*v.* 24).	*v.* 5. The he-goat from the W. = King of Grecia (*v.* 21). He 'touched not the ground' (*v.* 5), and had a 'notable horn between his eyes' = first king (*v.* 21). *v.* 7. The goat smote the ram and broke his two horns. The 'notable horn' broken (*v.* 8), and	xi. 3, 4. A hero stands up but his kingdom falls as soon as erected: it does not descend to his posterity, but strangers divide it. *v.* 5. The King of the South shall be strong, against him shall be also another mighty one. After some years they become friends,

42), iron mixed with clay representing the mingling with the seed of men.

v. 8. From among these arose a 'little horn:' before which three of the ten were plucked up. 'Eyes like the eyes of a man,' and a 'mouth speaking great things, making war with the saints and prevailing till the judgment' (*vv.* 21, 22) = a king diverse from the rest, who shall subdue three kings, speak great words against the Most High, and think to change times and laws. The saints shall be given into his power for 'a time and times and the dividing of time' (*vv.* 24, 25).

for it came up 'four notable ones towards the four winds of heaven' = four kingdoms but not in his power (*v.* 22). Out of one of them came a 'little horn' which waxed towards S. and E. and 'pleasant land'—'even to the host of heaven,' it 'took away daily sacrifice and cast down the sanctuary' (*vv.* 9—11). The sanctuary was to be trodden down 2300 half days (1150 days) = 3 years 55 days (*vv.* 12—14) = 'a king of fierce countenance and understanding dark sentences:' 'mighty but not by his own power;' 'destroying the holy people,' prospering by crafty policy (*vv.* 23—25).

but again make war.....He will go again against the South, but ships from Chittim shall compel him to return. Then shall he have indignation against the holy covenant (*v.* 31). The true among the people shall strengthen themselves and many shall perish (*v.* 33). At the end the King of the South shall push against him. But he shall overflow the pleasant land and Egypt. He shall go out towards the North, and pitch his tent between two seas, in the holy hill (*vv.* 6—45) [From the time of the 'abomination of desolation' (xi. 31) to the full end are 'a time, times and a half' (xii. 7), 1290 days (xii. 11) = $3\frac{1}{2}$ years. 'Blessed is he that cometh to the 1335 days' = $3\frac{3}{4}$ years].

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v. 44. 'In the days of these kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed. It shall break in pieces these other kingdoms and shall stand for ever.'

v. 45. It shall be as 'a stone cut out of the mountain without hands.' 'The dream is certain and the interpretation sure.'

vv. 9—14. 'The thrones were cast down, and the Ancient of days did sit.....thousands, and tens of thousands before Him. The judgment was set and the books opened.' 'Because of the voice of the great words' spoken by the 'horn,' the beast was slain, and his body given to the flame. From the rest of the beasts dominion was taken away, and their lives prolonged for a season. And, behold, 'one like the Son of Man' came to the Ancient of days, and to him was given 'everlasting dominion.'

v. 25. 'He shall be broken without hand by the Prince of Princes.'

xii. 1—3. Michael, the great prince, shall stand up. A 'time of trouble' ensues 'such as never was since there was a nation even to that same time,' and 'at that time God's people should be delivered every one that shall be found written in the Book.' 'They that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake' some to 'life' and some to 'shame.'

The difference, it will be noticed, begins with the second image and beast. The 'traditional' view, proceeding upon the supposition that there was no separate Median monarchy, regards these types as representing the Medo-Persian kingdom combined. The 'bear with three ribs between its teeth' is Cyrus and his three dependencies, Media, Assyria, and Babylonia (S. Hippolytus), or Egypt, Lydia, and Babylonia (Zündel), or Media, Persia, and Lydia (alii). The maintenance of this interpretation very much depends upon the view taken of Cyrus' position as regards Darius the Mede. If Cyrus be regarded, at the time of the fall of Babylon, as the conqueror of Media, and the Medians as subject to the Persians, then a Median sole supremacy over Babylon was impossible. But according to the view adopted in these pages[1], Cyrus was very far from claiming such a title, and he carefully preferred the Median prince to the post of honour. Daniel (ii. 39) himself distinctly describes the second kingdom as inferior to the first, and this while exactly the case with the Median dynasty alone, cannot be asserted of the Medo-Persian combined. 'Modern' opinion has therefore preferred to interpret the 'bear with its three ribs' of Darius the Mede and his three Presidents; founding the interpretation upon the fact, that the short-lived Median dynasty was far 'inferior' to that of Nebuchadnezzar. Upon one point, 'modern' opinion may certainly be said to be right; namely, in rejecting as arbitrary the reference of such inferiority to internal worth or value (Auberlen). The severance between the Mede and the Persian asserted by the 'modern,' is said to be further supported by chapter viii. 3. The 'ram with the two horns,' is that one kingdom successively governed by the kings of Media and Persia; the second horn or kingdom being higher than the first, and the higher coming up the last. This was the case with the kingdom

[1] p. 171 seq.

of Persia. It was not till the sole reign of Cyrus, that the distinct empires of the Medes and Persians became thoroughly united; and then the Persian element gradually superseded the Median in the governing body. In the Book of Daniel the Median empire is represented as independent, placed between the Babylonian and Persian empires. Though of comparatively slight importance in itself, it had a momentous and independent character in relation to the history of Israel, and therefore also in the view of the prophet (Delitzsch).

The identification of the second kingdom with the Medo-Persian naturally leads the 'traditionalist' to explain the third of the Græco-Macedonian: the 'modern' affirming it to be the Persian. According to the first the 'four heads' of the 'leopard' (Alexander) are Seleucus, Demetrius, Ptolemy, and Philip[1]. According to the second the 'leopard' is Cyrus: the 'four heads' are his successors Cambyses, Smerdis, Darius Hystaspes, and Xerxes: the 'four wings' being either Persia, Media, Babylonia, and Egypt, or with the 'traditionalist' the four points of the compass. In either case the whole opinion stands or falls with the validity of the position assumed with respect to the second and fourth kingdoms.

What then is typified by the fourth kingdom? This is unquestionably the most knotty point of the subject. Contextually it appears to be the last world-power before the Advent of Messianic Salvation. What was that power? and who is meant by the 'little horn,' that most impious of the enemies of God's people and His sanctuary? The 'traditionalist' answers: the kingdom is the Roman; the 'little horn,' that Antichrist who has not yet appeared, but on all accounts to be carefully distinguished from the great persecutor of the Jews—Antiochus Epiphanes[2]. The 'modern'

[1] S. Hippolytus, p. 178.

[2] Id. pp. 179, 181. 'We must wait till the 10 horns arise when the time of the Beast shall be fulfilled, and the "little horn," which is Antichrist, shall

replies: the kingdom is the Græco-Macedonian; the 'little horn' primarily, at least, Antiochus Epiphanes. There are a few indications which perhaps facilitate a decision. The description of this fourth kingdom has been affirmed capable of application to the Macedonian and Roman alike. If so, the case resolves itself into a balance of probabilities. The feet of the image seen by Nebuchadnezzar are 'part of iron, part of clay' (ii. 33), 'partly strong, partly broken' (ver. 42): the commixture denoting the; 'mingling themselves with the seed of men;' the fracture the 'not cleaving one to another, even as iron is not mixed with clay' (vv. 42—3). Auberlen's school[1] affixes to this an interpretation which, though seriously offered, cannot but be designated purely artificial. In the strong metal is discovered an allusion to the 'iron' nature of the Roman world-power penetrating and influencing its Germanic and Slavonic offshoots, while the still existing cleavage is hailed as a predicted result of opposite nationalities and peculiarities. On the other hand, the 'modern' school prefers to assimilate the type to the marriage alliances (v. 43) of the Ptolemies and Seleucids[2]; unions which promised so much and so speedily came to nothing. For awhile the junction was as that of iron to a tenacious clay, but presently cleavage ensued through the inherent discordance of the materials employed.

This fourth kingdom is symbolised in chapter vii. by a beast with ten horns, from among which arose a 'little horn' before whom three of the ten were plucked up by the roots. Now this *definite* number may or may not be a

appear....We must not anticipate the will of God, but have patience and fear lest our lot fall in such times; neither let us disbelieve that they will happen,' &c.

[1] p. 220 seq. (Engl. Tr.).

[2] Thus Ptol. Philad. married his daughter to Ptol. Theos (B.C. 252): Ptol. Epiph. married the daughter of Antiochus the Great (197 B.C.). Bleek, *Jahrb.* p. 60, n. 1.

strict postulate of prophecy, but a *multifarious* division unquestionably is denoted[1]. That division finds its illustration, according to the 'traditionalist' opinion, in the cluster of the petty contemporary kingdoms which replaced the Roman empire upon its dissolution; according to the 'modern,' in the successors or generals of Alexander. The balance of probabilities perhaps favours the latter[2]. Auberlen and Bleek[3] are agreed in considering the ten kings as co-ordinate in dignity and time. The 'little horn' rises not after but *among* the horns (ביניהון). The chief objection made to the 'modern' view, is based upon the supposed contradiction of chapter viii. 8. There *four* monarchies, *not ten*, arise out of Alexander's empire, and from one of these four springs the 'little horn.' This would seem to refer the 'little horn' of chapters vii. and viii. to different persons. But as regards the first point, it is answered, that the difficulty is more imaginary than real. The lesser kingdoms into which the great monarchy of Alexander was partitioned were sometimes reckoned as four ruled by Seleucus Nicator, Lysimachus, Ptolemy Lagi, and Cassander, or as ten under the generals who, after the death of their chief, divided his provinces amongst themselves. All these kingdoms existed contemporaneously, and therefore satisfy the literal requirements of the

[1] Davison, p. 361. Beck's remarks on the numbers of prophecy are worth quoting. 'Die prophetischen Zahlen dagegen sind zusammengesetzt theils aus den innersten Urbestimmunzen der aussenweltlichen Maassverhältnisse, heilige Urzahlen, die elementare Welt-Organisation bemessend, zu deren Enträthselung nur die biblischen Aufschlüsse über Schöpfung und Urzeit dienen; theils aus den Grundbestimmungen der theocratischen Chronologie und Arithmetik (namentlich Festrechnung), heilige Ziffern, geschöpft aus der Zeit-und-Maass-Ordnung der Theocratie.' (*Propäd. Entwickel*, p. 201. Quoted by Lee, *On Inspiration*, p. 215, n. 1.)

[2] The names of the 'Successors' may be seen in Delitzsch or Davidson (Horne's *Intr.* p. 909); the 'generals' in Bleek, *Jahrb.* p. 61, or Davidson (*Introd.* Vol. III. p. 211). The names given by Hitzig and Hilgenfeld differ in some respects from the above (vid. *Zeitschr. für. Wiss. Theol.* p. 311, 1860, and *Jüdische Apokalyptik.* p. 71).

[3] Auberlen, p. 224; Bleek, p. 61.

text. And for the second it is urged that the 'little horn' of the two chapters must refer to one and the same character. The critics of both schools are almost unanimous in referring the 'little horn' of chap. viii. to Antiochus Epiphanes. He was a Syrian, and naturally took his rise from the Græco-Macedonian dynasty. On no supposition could he be said to have sprung from the Roman empire. And if his portrait be accurately drawn in chap. viii, it is equally so in chap. vii. To apply one description to one prince, and another to a second, is met by the primâ facie objection that it destroys the unity of the Book, and is contradicted by an evident similarity of details. A comparison of the passages vii. 8, 11, 20, 21, 24—26, and viii. 9—12, 22—5, will leave no other impression on the mind of an unprejudiced person than this;—that they pourtray but one character under differences due to a gradual and successive revelation, and permissible through probable intervals of composition. And chap. xi. 21 sq. is further adduced to confirm this impression. There the progress and expeditions of a 'vile person' are depicted in the most minute and historical manner, yet with notes of description and definition most naturally explained of the 'king diverse from the rest' (vii. 24), the 'king of fierce countenance' (viii. 23). One and the same character is but looked at under various points of view, and so represented variously. The portrait is substantially the same, and the time of his domination the same. The 'time and times and dividing of time' (vii. 25) finds a closer definition in the 2300 half-days (viii. 14), once more to be typified in the 'time times and a half' (xii. 7)[1].

It is urged[2], moreover, as a fatal objection to the 'traditional' view of the fourth, and so of all the kingdoms, that it destroys the great idea of the cyclic developement

[1] Vid. the table.

[2] Westcott, Art. cit. from which is taken the substance of the following paragraph.

of history lying at the base of all prophecy. Great periods (αἰῶνες) appear to be marked out in the fortunes of mankind which answer one to another; the divine utterance which receives its first fulfilment in one period, receives a further and more complete fulfilment in the corresponding part of some later period. Why, it is asked, is this developement allowed to other prophecies, but refused to the revelations of Daniel? In the predictions of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and others, the first coming of Christ forms the close of the first age: His second coming shall terminate the present. It is the same with the prophecies of Daniel: the first Advent is a distinct fulfilment of his visions, without necessarily exhausting their scope. The revelations of Daniel gain their full significance only when they are seen to conceal an outline of all history in the portraiture of the nations which ruled the world before Christ's coming. The four world-powers preceded the coming of the Messiah, and passed away before that Advent. 'But their spirit survives (cf. vii. 12), and the forms of national existence which were developed on the plains of Mesopotamia again reproduce themselves in later history.' The 'modern' view, which allots the last of the kingdoms of Daniel to the Greeks, helps to preserve this cyclic developement. 'The empires of Daniel,' it is argued, 'can be no other than those of the Babylonians, Medes, Persians, and Greeks, who all placed the centre of their power at Babylon, and appear to have exhibited on one stage the great types of national life. The Roman power was at its height when Christ came, but the Egyptian kingdom, the last relic of the empire of Alexander, had just been destroyed.' 'The stone cut without hands struck the feet of the image,' and Christianity destroyed for ever the real supremacy of heathen dominion. Let then—it is pleaded—'the true interpretation of Daniel' 'be sought in the recognition of this principle' of cyclic developement. 'The book, while it

remains a "prophecy," will also be a "revelation," and its most special predictions will acquire an abiding significance.'

Before leaving this section of the prophecies, let it in justice be stated and remembered that their Messianic character is entirely unimpaired by the 'modern' interpretation. To discern the fulfilment of a promised deliverer in the coming of an 'Anointed one' at the time of the great persecution under Antiochus Epiphanes, is not to obliterate the higher application, the more purely Messianic reference of the title to the person of the Redeemer of mankind. Chapters viii., ix. and xii., so closely connected with and illustrating the chapters just considered, point to a primary fulfilment in the deliverance of Israel from the hand of the Syrian tyrant; they received a second and a greater in the deliverance of sinful flesh by sinless Man: they are to receive a third and the greatest in that final day of victory when the 'man of sin' shall be revealed and the 'last enemy' destroyed. To Daniel the salvation brought to Judæa at the death of Antiochus Epiphanes formed a primary conclusion to his prophecy, as did the return from the exile to the other Prophets. That there was and is more beyond, was left and is still left to time to evolve. Daniel's own character is heightened, certainly not diminished by this primary reference of his prophecy. None but an inspired prophet could have accurately depicted such facts as—the oppression of a tyrant springing from a dynasty which in the first year of Cyrus had not begun to exist;—the circumstances of the oppressed people;—or the title and attributes of the Deliverer. It is not by maintaining the 'modern' interpretation of the prophecy, but by denying its true inspiration, and by relegating the accuracy of description to a Maccabæan writer, that the objector to the Book of Daniel wrests its existing phenomena to suit his conception. But it has been

well said by one[1] whose words are ever words of wisdom to the English critic, that to 'try and refer' such illustrious prophecies 'to any ingenuity of human reason' is to be confronted by the fact that 'they have too much extent and system for the substituted solution. In that attempt of solution, we are cramped by improbabilities on every side. One adequate origin of them there is, and that alone can render them intelligible in their manifest character,—to consent to read them as oracles of God, communicated by Him to His prophets, and by them to others; first, for the manifestation of His foreknowledge and overruling Providence in the kingdoms of the earth, and next for the confirmation of the whole truth of revealed religion. In that light they fall into order. In that same light too, their origin and their use explain each the other.'

§ 2. *The Seventy Weeks.*

Ch. IX. 24-7.

'I know,' said S. Jerome[2], 'that this passage has been much disputed among the most learned men. Each has spoken the opinion suggested by his own mind. And therefore, because I consider it dangerous to pass judgment on the views of the doctors of the Church, and invidious to prefer one to another, I will state what each one has thought,

[1] Davison, p. 362. He is defending the 'traditional' view; but the spirit of his words is fairly applicable here, though slightly anticipating some remarks presently to be offered.

[2] 'Scio de hac quæstione ab eruditissimis viris variè disputatum; et unumquemque pro captu ingenii sui dixisse quod senserat. Quia igitur periculosum est de magistrorum Ecclesiæ judicare sententiis, et alterum præferre alteri, dicam quid unusquisque senserit, lectoris arbitrio derelinquens, cujus expositionem sequi debeat.' *Comment. in Dan.* Vol. III. pp. 1109–10, ed. Bened. It should be added that he only gives a choice of 'traditional' opinions; *e. g.* Africanus, Eusebius, Hippolytus, Apollinarius, Clemens Alex., Origen, and Tertullian.

and leave it to the option of the reader whose interpretation he shall follow.' I may perhaps be permitted to imitate S. Jerome's example, in my remarks upon this,—the second great prophetic section of the book.

The text itself of the prophecy subdivides the seventy weeks into seven, threescore and two (*ver.* 25), and one (*v.* 27) week: and these are almost[1] universally understood as weeks of years; the total being therefore 490 years. The 'terminus a quo,' however, and the 'terminus ad quem' are points strongly disputed: the two main views ranging themselves as before under 'traditional' and 'modern' standards. With Hengstenberg and Hävernick, who follow the majority of the Fathers, the 'term. a quo' is the 20th year of Artaxerxes[2], the 'term. ad quem' the public appearance of Christ at the end of the 69 weeks. With Auberlen the 'term. a quo' is the return of Cyrus to Jerusalem (B.C. 457), the 'term. ad quem' the martyrdom of S. Stephen (A.D. 33). With the 'modern' the 'term. ad quem' is the age of Antiochus Epiphanes, and the 'term. a quo' is consequently traced back from that event. The respective authors of these views adduce in confirmation their interpretation of particular points. Each verse in succession is made to do battle for each opinion maintained, however varied and contradictory.

In *ver.* 24 the extent and duration of the period included in the prophetic vision is clearly defined. At the end of the 'seventy weeks' are brought in

E. V.	Bleek[3].
'Everlasting righteousness, the sealing up the vision and prophecy (marg. prophet), and the anointing the most Holy.'	'Everlasting righteousness, the sealing up the vision and prophet, and the anointing a most holy place.'

[1] Mr Hooper is an exception: *op. cit.* p. 9.

[2] So marg. note, E. V.

[3] I give the renderings of the English version and Bleek, as representatives of the 'traditional' and 'modern' school. Bleek's will be found critically explained and defended in the *Jahrb.* pp. 72 seq.

The main difference here is the interpretation of the concluding words למשח קדש קדשים. Hengstenberg, Hävernick, Ebrard and others, follow the patristic interpretation, and understand the קֹדֶשׁ of the person of the Messiah: Auberlen includes in it—the Messiah and the faithful since the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. 'The קֹדֶשׁ can be no one but the Son of God,' says S. Hippolytus[1]: 'Christ,' remarks Hengstenberg[2], 'may very appropriately be designated a Holy of Holies.' In one sense He may; but—interposes the 'Modern'—critically speaking the interpretation is indefensible, and the designation contrary to the descriptive and philological usage of the Old Testament[3]. It is, in truth, not without significance, that though the expression occurs frequently in the Old Testament, it is never applied to a *person*, but always to *things*. It is in that sense alone that Ezekiel, Daniel's contemporary, employs it. And if the rule be observed, that Scripture is the best exponent of Scripture, then the best illustration of Daniel's phrase is to be found in a very pertinent passage in Exodus (xl. 10).

ומשחת את מזבח העולה .....
והיה המזבח קדש קדשים: .....

The altar when *anointed* becomes קֹדֶשׁ. It is the technical phrase; and therefore if philological analogy may pronounce upon the question, it will be in the same technical sense that Daniel uses it here. It is urged moreover[4], not without reason, that in no passage in the Old Testament is the *person* of the Messiah treated as a thing, and to attempt to do so here is to 'lessen His dignity in the

[1] p. 158 (ed. Lagarde).

[2] *Christology*, III. pp. 123–4 (E. Tr.).

[3] Cf. a very valuable passage, Numb. xviii. 9. The expression is found in Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Ezekiel, and 1 Chronicles.

[4] *e. g.* by Davidson, III. p. 215.

eyes of the writers.' For these reasons Bleek and his school refer the words to the rededication of the temple and the altar of Mount Zion after its profanation by Antiochus Epiphanes. And while the usus verborum favours some such application, the analogy of the other visions of the Book is asserted to prove it. These find their fulfilment in the times and events of the life of that Prince, rather than in the episodes which preceded and signalised the final destruction of Jerusalem under Titus.

Support for these opposite views is deduced from the succeeding verses.

The interpretation of the whole passage, says Bleek[1], is confessedly very disputed. And it is not merely a question between the orthodox and modern application, or between the supporters of the authenticity of the vision and those who ascribe it to a Maccabæan writer, but the dispute is equally active within the ranks of professed partisans of this or that opinion. However this chief difference remains. Do the words of the angel refer to the historical appearance of Jesus Christ, or to the age of Antiochus Epiphanes?

E. V. ver. 25.	Bleek.
'Know therefore and understand, that from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build (marg. build again) Jerusalem unto the Messiah the Prince shall be seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks: the street shall be built again, and the wall (marg. breach or ditch) even in troublous times.'	'Know therefore and understand, that from the going forth of the word to build again Jerusalem till an anointed one, a prince, shall be seven weeks: and for threescore and two weeks, shall it be rebuilt with streets and ditches, yet in troublous times.'

The first difference is one of punctuation. The 'modern' school adopts the Masoretic: the 'traditionalist'

[1] *Jahrb.* pp. 76–7.

follows Theodotion, the Vulgate, and Luther. According to the division of the verse by the latter, the restoration and the rebuilding of Jerusalem are not to be referred to the seven weeks alone but to the seven and the sixty-two together,—an idea necessarily repudiated even in the 'traditional' system. According to the first, though the Masoretic is not of very great authority in itself, yet it appears to be justified by the position of the copula ו before שבעים : a reference to the original text shews that for the other punctuation it should have been before תשוב[1]. The interval between the issue of the 'commandment' or 'word,' and the coming of 'Messiah the Prince' or 'an anointed one' is thus defined to be seven weeks: at the end of the three-score and two weeks which follow 'Messiah is cut off' (*ver.* 26). If the seven and sixty-two were connected together as in the E.V., then the time of *ver.* 26 ought to be sixty-nine not sixty-two.

The next and the more important difference is one of interpretation. What is the meaning and application of the דבר (Theod. λόγος : Vulg. *sermo:* Luther, *befehl.*)? What is the date of its issue? Who is the Person of whom the Prophet speaks?

Is ד to be translated 'decree'? And if so, is it to be referred to *that* issued by Artaxerxes Longimanus in his 20th year, permitting Nehemiah to go to Jerusalem (Neh. ii.—Hengst. Häv., i.e. B.C. 445, according to Heng.'s reckoning): or to *that* issued in his 7th year giving a like permission to Ezra (B.C. 475, Auberlen): whether that decree be considered divinely dictated (Hengst. and Häv.), or not (Auberl.)? Or is the translation to be rejected, and the expression referred to the 'word of the Lord spoken to Jeremiah the prophet' (*ver.* 2), relating to the 70 years of which Daniel was seeking an explanation? And if so, is it to be dated from the beginning of the destruction of

[1] Reichel, *Stud. u. Krit.* p. 741, 1858.

Jerusalem (Bleek, Davidson) or from the 4th year of Jehoiakim (Ewald)[1]? The former section of interpreters proceed upon the supposition that there must be sixty-nine weeks of years 'from the going forth of the Word' to the concluding scenes of the life of Christ. It is an opinion said to be strengthened by the fact that up to the time of the decrees the more modern city of Jerusalem was but thinly inhabited: and it transposes the first reference of the vision to the age of Artaxerxes rather than to that of Cyrus. It is objected to this that too strong an interpretation is placed upon the decrees issued to Nehemiah and Ezra. The deductions drawn from them are unwarrantable. And to pass over all reference to the earlier prince, Cyrus, so distinctly named as the builder of Jerusalem (Isai. xlv. 13); to omit all mention of the previous return of the Israelites to their own land under their earliest leaders, is felt to be 'improbable and unnatural[2].'

The point is a very difficult one. The 'modern' school is quite as undecided with its dates as its opponents. Von Lengerke, Wieseler, Hofmann, Hitzig, and Hilgenfeld[3] sacrifice the distinctness of the position of the seven weeks. Hitzig places them in the middle of the sixty-two, including them within them, and extending their range from B.C. 606 to Antiochus Epiphanes. Wieseler[4] places them at the end: in his system the sixty-two weeks begin with 606-5 B.C. and reach to 172 B.C.; the 'one week' reduces this to 165-4 B.C., after which follow the 'seven weeks.' Hofmann and Delitzsch[5] assert both positively and negatively the same position for the 'seven weeks.' They reach this result by a

[1] Mr Tyrwhitt seems to me to have proved that the Ptolemæan canon and the Hebrew accounts agree in referring the extent of the 70 years to the interval between the 4th year of Jeh. (1st year of Neb.) to the 1st year of Cyrus; *i. e.* B.C. 606–536. *Journ. of Royal Asiat. Soc.* Vol. XVIII. pp. 119, 121.

[2] Bleek, *Jahrb.* p. 81. Cf. Hooper, p. 9, col. 2.

[3] *Die Jüdische Apokalyptik*, '*Das Buch Daniel*,' p. 30, and note.

[4] *Gött. Gel. Anz.* pp. 126, 131, 1846.

[5] Hofmann, *Schriftbeweis*, II. p. 584; Delitzsch, in Herzog's *Encycl.* III. p. 283.

comparison of *vv.* 24 and 27, affirming that the ends of the sixty-three and seventy weeks do not coincide. The 'seven weeks' are left as an object of research (ἐρευνᾶν) to the faithful, and by this means they meet the difficulty that those 'seven weeks' do not carry the dates down to the birth of Christ. The great objection to these systems is the separation of the seven from its place. It is named first in the prophecy, and there is no good reason for disturbing the natural order of the text. To place it after the sixty-three is a violation of the laws of natural exegesis, as Auberlen has shewn. Another section therefore of the 'modern' school takes the seven weeks in the order in which the text presents them. The permission granted by Cyrus to the Jews to return home marks their close; and consequently the starting point of the whole term of years is the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldæans.

The application of the sixty-two weeks follows as a corollary to the position of the seven. Hävernick and others starting from B.C. 455 bring the seven weeks to B.C. 406, and the sixty-two to the three and a-half years of the Saviour's ministry. Bleek and Ewald appropriate the period to the interval between Cyrus and Antiochus, though it is nine weeks too short. Ebrard and Fries[1] abide by peculiar and unsupported calculations.

And, again, in accordance with these chronological definitions משיח נגיד is with Hengstenberg, Auberlen, Ebrard, Wieseler, and Oehler[2],—Christ at His first coming, *the* anointed, *the* Prince; with Delitzsch, Hofmann, and Fries,—Christ at His second coming; with Bleek, Hitzig, and Reichel[3], an anointed one—Cyrus.

[1] *Jahrb. f. Deutsche Theol.* p. 254 seq., 1859.
[2] Herzog, *Encycl.* IX. 422.
[3] *Stud. u. Krit.* p. 363, 1858.

E. V. ver. 26.	Bleek.
'And after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself, (marg. and shall have nothing. S. John xiv. 30): and the people of the prince that shall come [marg. or, and (the Jews) they shall be no more his people; or, and the prince's (Messiah's, ver. 25) future people] shall destroy the city and the sanctuary; and the end thereof shall be with a flood, and unto the end of the war desolations are determined (marg. it shall be cut off by desolations).'	'And after the threescore and two weeks shall an anointed one be cut off, and have no successor: and the people of a prince that shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary, and his end shall be (sudden) as a flood; and still to the end (there is) war, the close of desolations.' (Beschluss der Verheerrungen, reading שְׁמָמוֹת: others, retaining the Masoret. punctuation, 'desolations decreed.')

The great difference here is that of interpretation. The 'traditionalist' refers the verse to the death of Christ, and to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. In accordance with this interpretation משיח is *the* Messiah, *the* Christ. The absence of the article is explained to be intentional, and in perfect accordance with the character of the whole prophecy: an attentive and unprejudiced reader ought to be able to gather from the context that *an* anointed one here is the same as *the* anointed one of *ver.* 25. Hengstenberg objects, however, to the translation given by the English Version of ואין לו ('but not for himself'): that would require such an expression as ולא לו, the words אין and לא not being interchangeable. And he prefers to render them, 'and there is no inheritance to him;' though this displeases Auberlen who paraphrases them thus, 'no one hangs on Him (the crucified), all forsook Him and fled.' The 'prince that shall come' is consequently with Hengstenberg and Ebrard,—the Christ, the Redeemer; and with Auberlen—Titus: while the 'end' is variously applied to the sanctuary alone (Auberlen), to the temple and sanctuary together (Hävern.), to the 'people of the prince'

(Ebrard), or to the whole series of events, 'the end of the matter shall be desolation' (Hengstenberg).

The 'modern' school adopts an entirely different interpretation, but without preserving much unanimity of opinion. The result gained from referring the sixty-two weeks to the time immediately preceding the tyranny of Antiochus is, that the anointed one must be a person who met with a violent death about that date. Accordingly, with Bleek, von Lengerke, Maurer, Ewald, Davidson, and Baxmann משיח is Seleucus IV. Philopator, son and successor of Antiochus the Great, who was cut off after twelve years' reign by Heliodorus[1]. Eichhorn, Wieseler, Hitzig, Hilgenfeld, and Reichel, arguing upon the absence from the word משיח of any such expression as נגיד (as in *ver.* 25) give to it a priestly sense. In their system the anointed one is Onias III. the High Priest murdered by Andronicus[2]. Oehler seems to vacillate between the views of Bleek and Reichel; while Fries understands it of Israel as a people 'cut off' by the dispersion, and having no possession (ואין לו). In accordance, also, with their respective views, the words ואין לו are explained by Bleek and Ewald, 'he has no successor to his throne;' by Hitzig and Wieseler, 'he is no more;' by Steudel and Hofmann, 'the people have no anointed one.'

The last clause of this verse is not so diversely interpreted. The majority of the 'modern' school are agreed in referring the 'prince that shall come' to Antiochus Epiphanes.

[1] Appian, *Syr.* 45.

[2] B.C. 171. Cf. 2 Macc. iv. 34; Josephus, *Antiq.* XII. 5. 1.

E. V. ver. 27.

'And he shall confirm the covenant (marg. a covenant) with many for one week: and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease, and for the overspreading of abominations he shall make it desolate (marg. and upon the battlements shall be the idols of the desolator), even until the consummation, and that determined shall be poured upon the desolate' (marg. desolator).

Bleek[1].

'And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week; and the latter half of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease; and upon the wing of abominations (al. the altar of the Temple) comes the desolator (al. the abomination of desolation) even until the consummation: then shall the destruction determined be poured out on the waster' (al. the abomination shall continue till punishment and destruction be poured out on the waster).

Auberlen refers the first half of this verse to the new covenant brought in by Christ, and to the removal of the altar-sacrifice by His death. His opponents apply its allusions to Antiochus Epiphanes. Corresponding deductions follow. With Ebrard, the 'one week' is closed by the act of Titus in setting aside the Temple worship subsequent to the gathering together of 'many' (רבים Isai. liii. 12) by Christ from the Gentiles. With Auberlen, the 'many' are the 'elect;' the interval, that which occurred between the commencement of Christ's ministry and the stoning of S. Stephen. With Bleek and others, the 'many' are the Hellenizing Jews, with whom Antiochus Epiphanes connected himself (B.C. 169, 1 Macc. i. 11—5); and the 'week' is placed at the close of the seventy weeks. This difference naturally affects the details of the verse. The 'traditionalist' renders חצי השבוע 'the midst of the week;'

[1] Bleek's translation is more properly the rather unintelligible phrase: 'and the half of the week will put a stop to the sacrifice and oblation.' I have however availed myself of his concession that that adopted in the text is 'wohl zulässig.' It is that preferred by Hitzig and Reichel, as well as by Theodotion, Auberlen, &c.

the death of Christ upon the Cross rendering superfluous, 'making to cease' the oblation and sacrifice. But though the rendering is clearly defensible (cf. 2 Sam. x. 4), the more usual sense of the expression is 'the half of the week,'—defined in this particular case as that latter half during which the sacrifice and oblation were to cease. And it may be remarked that according to the 'traditional' interpretation itself, Messiah is cut off after the sixty-nine weeks or at the beginning of the seventieth, not in the middle of it.

But the second half of the verse is perhaps the most disputed passage in the whole prophecy. The general sense may be clear, but the words and construction are exceedingly obscure[1]. What for instance is the כנף שקוצים משומם? The translators of the English Version give two renderings. Theodotion and the LXX. render it ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν βδέλυγμα τῶν ἐρημώσεων; the Vulgate 'in templo abominatio desolationis;' Luther 'bei den Flügeln werden stehen Greuel der Verwüstung.' Ewald and Auberlen prefer 'the fearful or desolating climax of abominations,' but the word כ׳ is rather applicable to extension than to height. Hengstenberg follows the ancient Versions in referring the expression to the Temple, 'over the abomination pinnacle (v. Lengerke and Maurer—the abomination battlement, i.e. the battlement or pinnacle desecrated by abomination) comes the desolator.' Reichel appeals to the analogous phrase על כנפי רוח (Ps. xviii. 11; civ. 3), and translates, 'a desolator comes upon the wings of abomination:' he suggests this with reserve, owing to the difference of number, a difference of some importance where idiom is concerned. Wieseler, understanding the words to refer to the eagle, the symbol of the Olympian Jove, to whom Antiochus Epiphanes dedicated the temple at Jerusalem,

[1] Bleek, *Jahrb.* p. 93, honestly remarks, 'Sehr schwierig ist das Zweite Hemistich des Verses, wovon ich bekenne, eine recht befriedigende Erklärung weder irgendwo gefunden zu haben, noch selbst eine geben zu können.'

renders 'a desolator will raise himself against the bird of abomination.' Bleek alters the text. He would read שקוצי the first letter (מ) of משומם being supposed carried back by mistake to ש, and the error perpetuated by successive copyists. And this would seem to have been the reading of the Greek and Latin Versions. They probably read וְעַל כָּנָף (sub. בהיכל), and hence the sense attached to the words. Between this and Reichel's rendering the choice will probably rest.

The exegetical conclusions upon this verse are such as might be anticipated. The 'consummation determined' is accomplished in the acts of Titus (Auberlen et al.), or in those of Antiochus Epiphanes (Bleek et al.). Both opinions are encompassed with difficulties through the obscurity attaching to the whole subject; but if the many analogies of Chapters xi. and xii. be allowed to indicate a selection, then may the latter or 'modern' view claim preference before the 'traditional.' Critical reasons, based on historical and philological premises induce acceptance for the former; and it is argued that exegetical considerations, when fairly weighed, indicate a like conclusion.*

Both schools, however much the 'traditionalist' objects to the juxtaposition, attach a Messianic character to these visions. Not only is this element accorded to Chapters ii. and vii. but also to Chapters viii. ix. and xii. If Ch. vii. alone announces the promise of the Person of the Messiah, the other chapters distinctly assert the advent of Messianic salvation to the people of God at the end of the terrible visitation. On no account can the proclamation of this salvation be charged with monotonous repetition (Auberlen). The varied aspect of the prophecies, the ever-changing modes of revelation inculcating their one great lesson, sufficiently refute the charge. It is in fact quite possible to admit, that while the historical horizon of these chapters appears to be terminated by the Grecian kingdom; while moreover the cessation of the persecution by Antiochus

Epiphanes is connected with the advent of an Anointed One and the commencement of the Messianic kingdom; yet such historical restrictions do not exclude or supersede the belief, that prophecy prefigured under a historic garb the repetition of many of these acts in later and Christian times, and their yet final fulfilment at the second advent[1]. If prophecy possesses any relics of that complex nature once accorded to it, it is its privilege to regard as united or combined what history separates and evolves: it is further its apotelesmatic property to place in close proximity that which is immediate though still future and that which is reserved to the end. The manner in which Jesus Christ Himself referred to this section of Daniel's prophecies, may be quoted in proof of this. S. Matt. xxiv. 14 contains a distinct application of the prophet's words to the coming desolation under the Roman arms, but it by no means affirms that the prophecy should then receive its perfect fulfilment. The very contrary has certainly been the generally-received opinion. The words of the Saviour in the context, and S. Paul's prophecy upon *the* Antichrist (2 Thess. ii. 4) have led and still lead the Christian to believe that Daniel's words have yet to receive their most marked and final accomplishment.

This brief and imperfect sketch of some of the disputed

[1] This was an opinion entertained in the days of Augustine; at a time, it would seem, when men began to doubt whether the 'fourth' empire was really the Roman. In his correspondence with a certain bishop, named Hesychius, he states the case thus; Hesychius referring the prophecy of the 70 weeks not to the first Advent of Christ but to His second: 'Tota quæstio est utrum Danielis hebdomadæ primo adventu Domini impletæ sint, an finem sæculi prophetaverint, an ad utrumque pertineant.' After mentioning the currency of the latter view, he adds his own opinion: 'Equidem video quia si primus eas non complevit adventus, necesse est ut secundus eas compleat: quoniam prophetia illa non potest esse falsa: quæ si tempore primi adventus impleta est, non cogit intelligi quod etiam de fine sæculi implebitur. Ac per hoc incertum est, etiamsi verum est: neque negandum quidem sed neque præsumendum est id futurum.' *Epist.* CXCIX. *ad Hesych.* 'De fine sæculi' (Vol. II. p. 912, § 21, ed. Migne). The spirit in which this question is discussed is worthy of the Saint and of his celebrated maxim.

points of interpretation will serve to shew how difficult, if not impossible, is unanimity of opinion in exegetical conclusions. I turn now to some points briefly indicated in the last few paragraphs, and falling more properly within the domain of criticism proper.

It is a frequently-repeated objection[1] to the Prophecies of Daniel, that they present a particularity and precision altogether contrary to the analogy of the other Old Testament predictions. It is laid down as a rule that 'Hebrew prophecy does not deal in minute and accurate predictions. It rather foreshadows the distant future in vague and general outline without speciality or detail.' The case is altogether different with the Book of Daniel. 'There the future is indicated in minuter lines than elsewhere, remote events appear in individual traits to a degree unexampled in Hebrew prophecy'.[2] Thus, the individual contests of the south (the Lagidæ) and of the north (the Seleucidæ) are drawn out in the form of detailed history (Ch. xi.), though 'at the time of Daniel these kingdoms had no existence,' any more than that kingdom of Alexandria, upon which they were founded. Moreover 'the detailed prediction is continued to the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, but nothing specific is added after that date. The Messianic kingdom is alluded to, and the resurrection of the dead appended in an indefinite manner analogous to other Messianic predictions.' All this is felt to be difficult. Why, it is asked, does the narrative read like history up to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, but no further? Why has the Book of Daniel that definite historical particularity wanting to other sacred writings? And the answer has been returned;—it cannot be explained, except on the supposition of 'vaticinia post eventum.' It is argued, further, from the analogy of prophecy, that a 'seer living in

[1] *e. g.* by Davidson, III. p. 172 seq. He derives his arguments from Bleek, Ewald, De Wette, Herzfeld, and others.

[2] Hilgenfeld, p. 34.

the Babylonian captivity, and writing upon the future of his country would first glance at the deliverance from oppression soon to be realised, to which a greater deliverance in the Messianic age might be appended.' Why is this not done by Daniel? 'The Deutero-Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel' do so. They start from the relations and necessities of their present, and thence 'glance at the immediate future, and soar into the ideal reign of Messiah.' But Daniel simply 'projects his vision as far as the deliverance from Antiochus Epiphanes, and supposes it immediately succeeded by the Messianic salvation. Deliverance from Babylon is not predicted. That event which might be considered of the greatest importance in the eye of a Hebrew seer living in Babylon is unnoticed. It is the salvation from the tyranny of Antiochus in which his predictions culminate.'

Now this objection, whose statement as enunciated in the above paragraphs is certainly open to part-qualification part-rejection, demands the reader's assent to two propositions: first, that History is determined by Prophecy; secondly, that Prophecy is always to be restricted within certain unvarying limits, and defined by certain unvarying rules. To neither is the Christian theologian likely or able to assent. With him it is one essential principle that History should interpret Prophecy, not be determined by it; it is a second that prophecies cannot be treated as merely human productions[1]. To apply the rules of criticism not only to the language of a document, where they are truly applicable, but also to the supposed mind of the writer, where they are as truly inapplicable: to denounce every application as false and gratuitous when it lies beyond the primary or immediate occasion;—is resented by those who attach any weight to well-attested credentials of inspiration. However much theologians differ, first in admitting

[1] Mill, *Myth. Interpr. of the Gosp.* pp. 186, n. 17, 330.

and then in applying the doctrine of inspiration, no one who believes that the men of old were moved by the Holy Ghost, will permit himself to be biassed by his individual fancy when interpreting their writings; least of all will he suppose that he has fathomed the whole when he has decided upon one single reference. The prophecy which tells immediately on an earlier event, is certainly applicable in the larger mind of the Spirit to a later one. There are numerous instances where the prophets themselves are witnesses to as well as channels for the transmission of this truth.

The recognition of a mind superior to the knowledge of man, and the belief in the 'double sense' of prophecy, are, I know, but little likely to meet with acceptance from those who disavow or nullify these great characteristics of the oracles of God; but statement is best met by statement, and the most fitting answer to the series of objections just made will perhaps be, not a step-by-step and clause-by-clause refutation, but the declaration of the mind of Christian theology on these points.

Any difficulty connected with the relation of Prophecy to History, the anticipation of the one by the other, and similar questions, leads to no other than the old debate upon the reconciliation of the free-will of the creature with the foreknowledge of the Creator. Dr Arnold[1] once pointed out that 'it is a very misleading notion of prophecy to regard it as an anticipation of history. History, in our common sense of the term, is busy with particular nations, times, places, actions, and even persons. If, in this sense, prophecy were a history written beforehand, it would alter the very condition of humanity, by removing from us our uncertainty as to the future; it would make us acquainted with those times and seasons which the Father hath put in His own power. It is anticipated history, not in our

[1] *Sermons on the Interpretation of Prophecy*, Vol. I. p. 375.

common sense of the word, but in another and far higher sense.' Time and the relations of time are often matters quite subordinate in the descriptions of a prophet. His words are in the first instance invested with obscurity. It is not till after their fulfilment that future events are seen to have been distinctly and minutely foretold by him. God having been pleased to disclose the future in prophetic vision, and to open to the eye of man the vista of events yet to come, the human understanding, fettered by its natural laws, could no more discriminate *events* separated by *time*, when thus presented simultaneously, than the eye could form any judgment, before experience, upon the distance or relative position of *objects* separated by *space*. In both cases the mind necessarily regarded the objects presented to it as projected the one upon the other. Thus it was that in his visions 'the prophet beheld future events unconnected by the relations of time[1].'

Further: it has been established as the accepted *law* according to which the different portions of God's revelation have been communicated, that 'each prediction, with scarcely an exception, proceeds from and attaches itself to some definite fact in the historical present[2]: or, in other, words, when the future is to be foreshadowed, certain events of the time, historical or incidental, are selected as occasions on which may be founded the several disclosures of the Divine will[3].' For instance: it was the sin of Manasseh which furnished the starting-point of the prediction of the exile (2 Kings xxiv. 3; Jerem. xv. 4); it was the promise of the termination of that exile which furnished a fundamental and generating fact for the pro-

[1] Lee, pp. 192–3.

[2] Thus S. August. speaking of Nathan's prediction to David concerning Solomon, says, 'Unde quædam de illo (Solomone) ita scripta sunt, quasi de ipso (Christo Domino nostro) ista prædicta sunt, dum Scriptura Sancta etiam rebus gestis prophetans, quodam modo in eo figuram delineat futurorum.' *De Civit. Dei*, Lib. XVII. c. viii. § 2 (quoted by Lee, p. 153, n. 1).

[3] Lee, p. 152.

phecy of Daniel (ix.). The particular point is brought forward as a pledge of that which lies far beyond, without representing it as the true or highest end. It is very easy to check any abuse of this characteristic principle of prophecy—the 'double sense'—by refusing to accept any interpretation of Scripture which the words of Scripture do not justify[1]. 'This,' says Olshausen[2], 'is to be laid down as the first rule of every system of exposition, that Scripture has no meaning in addition to the simple meaning of its own words: yet *under* this again it has the same, only lying somewhat deeper. A firm necessary connection must always be maintained between the literal sense of the words and the more profound import of this verbal sense.'

Moreover, in all predictions of the future there will be noticed certain phenomena marking the manner in which prophets described events to come[3]. The titles 'seer' and 'watchman,' so often applied to those men of God, suggest what that manner was. The state of the prophet's mind was one of elevation. Exalted to a higher sphere of thought, admitted to a deeper survey of the world invisible, he was for the time made a recipient of supernatural communications. These were presented to him by the Lord Himself, and these he apprehended by an organ of the soul corresponding to his outer vision, and equally convincing him of the truth and subjectivity of what he saw[4]. From his height he watched and gazed into the far-off distance, to read there and record what was hidden from the sight of his contemporaries. And these same phenomena, marked as regards their spirit, by inalienable lines of reference to Him who is without 'variableness or

[1] Lee, p. 157.

[2] Quoted by Lee, *l. c.* n. 1. Cf. Hardwick's remarks, *Christ and other Masters*, Vol. I. p. 129.

[3] Lee, p. 186 seq.

[4] Cf. Hardwick, I. p. 137.

shadow of turning,' but varying on their human side, with the position, the circumstances, the education, the mind, of the being to whom they were communicated — indicate that portions only of the Divine counsels were unveiled before the view of the individual prophet. Of each it may be said that he but knew in part and prophesied in part. Their several predictions are but fragments of one vast whole; the single lines, as it were, which each prophet has contributed to the great sketch of the future. It was left to the progress of revelation and the events of history, to work into one and chronicle the completion of the outlines delineated by those who spake in divers manners in those ancient times.

The admission of developement in prophetic revelation is now uncontested. It is a fact easily proved that a steadier light was gradually thrown upon the soul-stirring beliefs of the Jewish people. 'The revelations of the Old Testament,' said Archdeacon Hardwick[1], 'and therefore more particularly of the earlier portions of it, were not absolute and ultimate. As centuries went on, many large accessions may be clearly dated in the measure of man's sacred knowledge.' Especially did the truths pertaining to the spiritual world gain a greater prominence and clearness of expression. The most cursory comparison of the sacred writings one with another, and of these with the monuments of tradition, place the developement beyond question. The Books of Moses compared with those of the Prophets; the Books of the Prophets and of the Hagiographa compared with the maxims of the Scribes and Rabbins; these last, again, with the Greek version of the LXX. and the Chaldee paraphrase of Onkelos— illustrate the various and progressive steps of ascension and declension in the religious creed of the Hebrew. It was developed, modified and adapted during the lapse

[1] *Op. cit.* II. p. 414.

of ages. It followed the course of events, submitting to the influence of contact with foreign civilization, till presently discussion and study took the place of faith and inspiration, leading to marked divergence in doctrine and ethics[1]. In this developement genuine prophecy stood from first to last in vital union with monotheism. The law of advance and progress is to be traced not only in the idea of type and prophecy, but in the very order and sequence of the prophecies themselves. Prophecy grew with the growth and expansion of man's faculties, and aided in the gradual training of the sacred commonwealth. In form and structure it was invariably adapted to the peculiar exigences of the period out of which it grew[2]. Completely bound up with the fortunes of the seed of Abraham it supplied them with continual answers in times of perplexity. It cheered them in the darkest hours of their history, transforming their sorrows into fresh occasions for quickening them with Messianic hopes. 'Prophecy was as the living voice of God which went along continually with the developement of the Hebrew nation; when it spoke, the parched and joyless desert seemed to blossom like the rose, and minister fresh streams of comfort and of blessing; men "drank of the spiritual Rock which followed them, and that Rock was Christ[3]."' Nothing can be more marked than the fitness of the various seasons at which this living voice was heard. Nothing more

[1] Franck, *Études Orientales*, Essay on 'Le Droit chez les Juifs,' p. 108, sums up this principle thus: 'Si l'on veut connâitre véritablement dans les dogmes et dans sa morale l'antique religion des Hébreux, il faut la suivre à travers toutes ses vicissitudes, il faut l'observer à toutes les périodes de son histoire sans confondre ni les temps ni les hommes' (cf. p. 284).

[2] Hardwick, I. p. 140, quotes S. Augustine: 'Ab initio generis humani, alios occultius, alios evidentius, *sicut congruere temporibus* divinitus visum est,' &c. (*Epist.* CII. § 15, Opp. Vol. II. p. 211, ed. Bened.), and Trench [*Hulsean Lectt.* p. 86 (1845)], whose words I have incorporated in the text, in proof of this peculiarity.

[3] Id. p. 142. His remarks on this point are well worth studying, and I have freely availed myself of the language in which he has expressed them.

self-evident than its peculiar adaptation to the wants, the faculties, and prospects of the Hebrews. How noticeable, for instance, is this in the person and age of Daniel! To the old Prophets, it has been said[1], Daniel stands in some sense as a commentator (ix. 2—19); to succeeding generations as the herald of immediate deliverance. The people of God had entered upon a new period in their existence. Fresh instruction was necessary, suitable to their altered fortunes, preparatory to yet further changes. Consequently the ancient 'form, and style, and point of sight of prophecy, is relinquished.' This is done neither abruptly nor absolutely, but the change is at once distinctly felt. Daniel takes his stand far more in the future than in the present, though his prophecy emanates from the circumstances by which he was surrounded. His work was not so much to delineate the struggle between principles, good and evil, truth and falsehood, God and His enemy, as that destined to arise and stamp the future. He had not to track the contest between states of opinion down to their final issue, but that henceforth to be waged between the powers of the world and the kingdom of God. In his visions he saw mighty wrestlings between the kings of the North and the kings of the South, and the blind rage of the conqueror of a day against the Prince of eternity; but he did not seek to spiritualise their meaning. They had a literal significance destined to receive a literal fulfilment, predictive in its turn of that shock ultimately 'to shake not the earth only but also heaven.' His work, in short, was not that of a prophet: he retained the spirit of a prophet, but his status was that of the seer. The distinction is not without its value. The seer looked forward from the present to the great age to come: the prophet looked backward from the 'last days' to the trials in which he was still placed. And as in the mind of the prophet what

[1] Westcott, p. 391. Hilgenfeld, p. 34, goes so far as to consider the first-named peculiarity a token of post-prophetic origin.

was human and divine was separate and yet connected; so in revelation each element stood apart in its own vigorous and colossal dimensions. These are the features which distinguish Daniel from the other great prophet of the captivity, as well as from those who preceded and followed that event. The Babylonian exile supplied both to himself and his brother captives an outward training and an inward tuition for a developed form of divine teaching. But it affected differently the prophet-prisoner upon the banks of Chebar, and the president-exile at the courts of Nebuchadnezzar and Darius. The accredited type of prophecy remained the common possession of both: but to the one larger accretionary matter was revealed than to the other. The developement begun in the pages of Jeremiah, is seen to have increased when traced through the prophetic visions of Ezekiel into the symbolism of Daniel. It presently wrought out that combination of early and late prophetic structure which distinguishes the work of Zechariah.

But this leads to the second great objection made to the prophecies of Daniel—their symbolic and apocalyptic character[1].

An apocalyptic taste is defined to be 'a mark of decay;' originating at a time when the 'freshness of the prophetic form' had passed away from Israel[2]. Daniel, it is said, exhibits this in a notable degree. He differs from Ezekiel and Zechariah both in the character and abundance of his visions. 'The outlines and shades' of those prophets 'are mostly the offspring of fancy[3].' 'But in Daniel the visions are usually made up of features having their counterpart in real history.' 'In Ezekiel and Zechariah the main element is imaginative, illustrating one or two leading facts:' in Daniel it is 'history in the form of vision.' And

[1] Davidson, III. p. 175; Hilgenfeld, *Jüd. Apok.* p. 34 seq.

[2] Hilg. p. 10.

[3] Davids. *l. c.* deserves all the credit of this discovery.

this difference is described as 'precisely such as would arise out of the respective times at which they were written.' 'The apocalyptic taste begun in Ezekiel and Zechariah increased. When genuine prophecy died out, the apocalyptic character became more marked and abundant.' It was found necessary to clothe certain truths in the form of visions and put them into the mouth of one celebrated for wisdom[1]. Long before, the Deuteronomist and Coheleth had set the example by publishing truths under the garb of Moses and Solomon. But their intention being to impart truths of an ethical and didactic character, it was unnecessary that they should communicate their ideas in the prophetic method. The writer of the Book of Daniel had a different object. He wished to sustain and animate a suffering people with the hope of a bright future. Consequently he appears as a prophet, and employs visions in abundance. That they are not real visions, it is added, is shown by the mould in which they are cast—an artificial, historical mould, wanting that true inspiration of antiquity whose pulsation they merely imitate. With such views the conclusion is easy: The Book of Daniel exhibits apocalyptic development at a stage possible only to a work written in the age of 'decay.' Henceforth it must be consigned to the same class and to the same age as the Fourth Book of Esdras, the Sibylline Oracles, the Book of Enoch, the 'Ascensio Isaiæ,' and the Testament of the xii. Patriarchs.

Let me add here, by anticipation, that strange doctrinal and ethical ideas, Christology, Messianic positions generally, angelological conceptions, 'exaggerated notions of the value of prayer and almsgiving'—are deduced from these same sections, and drawn in to support the same conclusion. They are asserted to differ from the notions entertained at the time of the exile and immediately after,

[1] Bleek, *Jahrb.* p. 97; *Einl.* p. 594; Davids. p. 176.

and to agree with a stage of doctrine and practice current in the Maccabæan era, and acquired from extraneous sources.

These objections may be stated briefly enough, but the answer to them to be simply sufficient without pretension to completeness, provokes discussion upon the positions which alone can warrant them rather than upon the objections themselves. The discovery of a difference between the religious developement of the Book of Daniel and that of the age of the Captivity, and the consequent delegation of that work to the post-Babylonian period, necessitate some remarks upon the changes undergone by the Jew, partly through internal causes, partly through contact with foreign nations, during the course of those most eventful years. It is only thus that the right or wrong of this question can be decided. For example; the indication of Persian influence so freely pointed out in the pages of Daniel, suggests, before assent, an enquiry into the question;—What was the relation between Mazdeism and Judaism? and how and when was it exercised? The assertion of parallelisms with the Sibylline productions of Alexandria so unhesitatingly made, involves a solution of the query;—If this be so, which was the original? and how far must any such assertion be affected, first, by the sparse relationship acknowledged to have existed between the Egyptian and Palestinian Jew, and next, by the marked distinctions separating the theological systems of Jerusalem and Alexandria? These are important subjects which I cannot permit myself to treat exhaustively. I can but indicate the reasons, and quote the sources, which have led me to adopt an opinion diametrically opposed to that of the impugners of the Book of Daniel. Let it be remembered that the period in question, though one of the deepest interest, is also one of the most obscure in the Biblical annals. It is next to impossible to remove altogether the veil overhanging the last few hundred years before the Christian era. There

were going on then changes and developements, to decipher which the materials preserved to posterity are of the scantiest and most imperfect description. Setting aside historical works whose canonicity has not been disputed, the train of thought in Palestine has to be gleaned mostly from translations and Targums. Alexandria records, in a few allegorical and speculative compositions, the changes penetrating into the vitals of Hellenistic Hebraism. To these have to be added apocryphal works loaded with anachronisms and Sibylline leaves with a puny imitation of oracular dignity. And from this heterogeneous mass has to be framed a political and theological delineation of the era which witnessed the change from Hebraism to Judaism. The fact of itself suggests caution in reasoning too closely, and deducing too much, from what can furnish at best but generalizations.

In arguing upon the Book of Daniel it should always be conceded that it is in the last degree important to recognise its apocalyptic element. What was said by Lücke[1] of the Apocalypse of S. John may be affirmed true of the Book of Daniel; it is the hidden cradle of the philosophy of history. Daniel's work is distinct from the other prophetic writings in the same manner as the Apocalypse of S. John is distinct from the Apostolic Epistles. Shall this distinction be exaggerated into a difference sufficient to constitute it unauthentic? Was the composition of the work really impossible to such a man as Daniel at the termination of the Babylonian exile? Must the stage of developement exhibited in its pages be indicative of a tone of thought not attained till some centuries after the Return? Appeal is made in the first place to criticism, apart from questions of inspiration. The defender of the authenticity of the Book agrees with his opponent that Daniel's work is carried out in a style of which the Old

1 *Versuch. einer vollst. Einl. d. Offenb. Joh.* Vol. I. pp. 38–9; Nicolas, *Des Doctrines religieuses des Juifs*, p. 272.

Testament offers no precisely similar example, but he finds the cause—humanly speaking—for this developement in the circumstances of the man and of the age in which it professes to have been written. The impugner of its authenticity declines to recognize, not perhaps the existence, but the influence of those causes at that period. He defers them to the Maccabæan era. Beyond the range of criticism, the one naturally adduces the evidences of an inspiration counted satisfactory by those who lived nearest to that age, and those whom Christianity has loved to honour as masters in the realms of faith and intellect: the other rests upon a view of inspiration—must it not be said?—peculiar to his school; stripping prophecy of divine authority he treats it as a mere outbreak of ardent patriotism, or of feverish zeal, or of exuberant imagination, rejecting most of all that opinion of antiquity which happens to differ from his own[1].

The precise distinction[2] between apocalypse and prophetic literature has been much debated. Some discover it—generally, in the eschatological, and particularly, in the universalistic element of a writing. Others expand distinction into transformation, and describe apocalypse as imitative in character, Alexandrian in spirit, and dependent for its distorted conceptions upon the purer originations of Hebrew prophecy. Dissimilarity of tone or manner of exposition, being purely accessory circumstances, do not advance much the solution of the question at issue. There remain, it is said, other indications quite sufficient to characterise broadly and not obscurely the differences between apocalypse and prophecy. Such are, in the opinion of M. Nicolas[3], the determining by mystical numbers

[1] Cf. Hardwick, I. p. 139.

[2] The views of Lücke and Nitsch are given by Nicolas, p. 281 sq. Comp. also, Hilgenfeld, p. 5 sq.

[3] *Op. cit.* p. 283. I quote him by preference as the representative of the opinions of his school, though not of their tone. M. Nicolas's language is never tainted by personalities or invective.

the date of the principal events preparatory to the Advent of the Messiah; the fixing the duration of His reign; the personification of the chief of His enemies in the Prince of evil spirits; the partial resurrection of the dead at the commencement of the fifth monarchy; and the publication of a new law, or at least the perfecting of the old. These differences are not indeed sufficient to destroy all analogy between the apocalyptic belief of the later Jews, and the Messianic expectations of their fathers. In fact, whatever has been asserted by the ancient prophet is preserved, at the same time that it is expanded, by his successor. They proclaim the same message—the announcement of a Saviour; the triumph of Monotheism; and the description of that era of happiness and virtue He is to found upon earth. But this message, it is affirmed, is carried by the Jew farther than the Hebrew had conceived it. The former marks his distinction from the latter by his evident wish to determine precisely what the ancient prophet had left indeterminate. The picture of Messianic expectation is accordingly enlarged in apocalyptic literature; the features are retouched with a bolder pencil; former blanks are filled up, and numerous personages crowded upon the canvas; the original prophetic conception permeates the whole only as the original design may be said to underlie the finished embroidery[1]. In a word, the apocalyptic belief of the Jew is considered the result of the developement of the Messianic expectations of the Hebrew, and that at a time when real Prophecy had ceased to be heard. Can the truth of this be ascertained by an appeal to history? Can the religious condition of the Israelite at

[1] The illustration belongs to M. Nicolas. 'Le tableau des espérances messianiques a été aggrandi dans les apocalypses; les traits en sont plus arrêtés, mieux marqués, les vides remplis, les personnages multipliés; mais on peut reconnaître dans les espérances messianiques le fond, l'esquisse des idées apocalyptiques, comme sous une broderie on aperçoit encore le dessin primitif.' pp. 284–5.

the end of the Captivity be so determined as to authenticate or nullify this conclusion? How difficult, if not impossible, is the attainment of unanimity on this point is evidenced by the fact of the numerous views entertained upon it. Is it to be concluded, with some, that the Hebrews returned to Judæa under Zorobbabel thoroughly imbued with the doctrinal and ethical conceptions certainly current among their later descendants? or is it to be affirmed, with others, that such developement did not exist, because its traces are not to be distinguished, till some centuries after the return? Both opinions appear to me to err from the extreme position they assume. But to consent to the latter is also to believe that when the Jews returned to their land their theological opinions had undergone change upon one point only[1]—the nature of their Messianic hopes; and that not through any influence of an external character, but through an inward necessity urging on and requiring modification and developement. Whatever external influence was ultimately brought to bear upon the Jew and his religious opinions, did not, it is asserted[2], exhibit their effects till 'long after the restoration of the Jewish worship at Jerusalem.' A long and intimate connection with the Persians, among whom eschatological conceptions were rife, must, it is said, be presupposed to account for analogous apocalyptic ideas among the Jews. How does history help to elucidate this point?

When the children of Israel were restored to Jerusalem, they found themselves in a position very different to that which they had previously occupied. Ancient independence had given place to vassalage; and however lenient the yoke of the Persian, the Hebrew was a freedman only in name. Satraps dictated to him from Susa and Ecbatana the political programme of his nation, and his own special duties as a citizen and vassal. He was

[1] Nicolas, pp. 288, 296, 304. [2] Id. pp. 51, 296.

entrusted with the conduct of moral and ceremonial administration only; and presently when subjected to the insults and vexatious interruptions of Samaritan and Apharsachite, energetic opposition was impossible to him till permission had been obtained from the council-chamber of the great king. The geographical position, the very intricacies of the country, once so favourable to the preservation of independence, became a stumblingblock to a nation that had lost political importance. The valleys and fastnesses of Palestine were only valuable now as those of an outlying province preserving the realms of Persia from the encroachment of the Egyptian: at a later date they were claimed as at once the battle-field and the limits of those petty kingdoms founded upon the subdivided conquests of Alexander of Macedon.

The Jew was thus led to consider his country's destiny as dependent on the successes or reversals of the monarchs who ruled him in turn. He learned to connect his expectations of ultimate deliverance with revolutions in successive dynasties, and to attach the advent of his Messiah to the fall of empires. He could not remain unaffected by the mighty convulsions shaking and rending the dominions of the East. Throne after throne tottered and fell under the shocks of the political earthquake; and the fettered Israelite watched and waited with something more than the mere curiosity of a spectator, or the apathy of a slave handed over to a fresh taskmaster. In the long period from the Restoration to the middle of the last century before the birth of Christianity,—a period marked by but a few bright days of success and prosperity in the midst of a long night of gloom and misfortune,—the Messianic creed was the pole-star of the Hebrew's existence. In each of his many moments of sore distress he turned to the prophetic announcements of a coming Liberator, and drew from thence fresh waters of hope and life.

It need not be disputed that there was in this a most prolific cause for the developement of Messianic doctrine. The developement may be traced through its various stages in the literary works of the day. The conditions of the new political existence of the Jew fostered, till it became a necessity, the internal wish to extend the early Messianic expectations beyond the limited circle of knowledge attained by his fathers. But he did not venture upon this without warrant of the highest order. Of the prophets of Israel no one exercised, in those periods of distress, a more lasting, more encouraging influence than Daniel. His thoughts, his symbolism, furnished vitality and expression to the language both of the inspired Zechariah and of the mantic Sibyl. It was a proof, had proof been wanting, that from the first he had made himself a living home in the hearts of his fellow-countrymen. It is impossible to avoid some such conclusion as this. And surely, if it can be conceded that many of the apocalyptic ideas of the later Jews owed their birth to a home study and application of the ancient prophecies; if, above all, it can be granted that an Apocalypse would have created itself among them quite independently of any foreign or external associations[1],—then does not the question create itself; why should the very being and existence of those ideas be deferred—critically speaking—to an era so far removed from that in which canonical Scripture, speaking by the mouth of Daniel, has placed it? If it be true, as will presently be shewn, that the Book of Daniel was the model and original of the Judaistic Apocalypse of the Maccabæan age with which a certain school has classed it, what is there in the internal and external framework of its prophetic conceptions condemnatory of its Babylonian date? I do not hesitate to assert the hypothesis of its late composition to be palpably at fault when the internal

[1] Nicolas, pp. 307–8.

agencies productive of its developement are properly referred to inspiration, and critically wrong, when Mazdeism and Judaism are consulted in their true position with reference to the phenomena of this book. This latter point I would first endeavour to prove.

At the time of the termination of the Exile, the Hebrews were under the protection of a people who exercised both an immediate and a permanent influence over them[1]. That people was the mixed nations of the Chaldæo-Persian united into one single polity by the arms of Cyrus. The actual influence however of the Chaldæan proper could never have been very great. Independently of the fact that he was conquered morally and materially by the Persian before the Return, the Chaldæan could impart nothing to the Jew likely to develope his higher—for example—his Messianic expectations. On the contrary the Babylonian religion contained much that would repel the exile. The creed of the astrologer contained nothing analogous to the Hebrew expectation of a Liberator and the era of peace and happiness consequent upon his advent. Polytheism was from the very conditions of its existence, incapable of helping the Israelite to understand the Monotheism from which he had seceded. But the Persian had far greater success theologically and politically[2]. From the moment that Cyrus conquered Babylonia the exiles of Judah saluted the Persian as their deliverer. They at once ranged themselves on his side against the Chaldæan,—their determined enemy for so many centuries, the destroyer of their temple and holy city. The captive people exhibited secretly their good will by refraining from opposition,—a no unimportant indication of feeling towards an army invading a foreign country. Their chief did not hesitate, when summoned, to take office under the liberating dynasty. Why was this? Is it sufficiently ex-

[1] Franck, *La Kabbale*, p. 353.
[2] Nicolas, p. 52 seq.

plained as a sign of passive indifference, or a mere token of thankfulness for exchange of masters? Neither supposition can be admitted for a moment. The Hebrew recognised in the Persian a friend to his own Monotheistic religion. For many years the protest of Zoroaster against Polytheism had been current among his own followers, and proclaimed to the external world. 'Every one,' the sage had cried[1], 'both men and women ought to choose his creed (i.e. between the Deva and Ahura religion)...To the liars (or worshippers of the Devas) existence will become bad whilst the believer in the true God enjoys prosperity... You cannot belong to both of them (you cannot be worshippers of the one true God, and of many gods at the same time)...Therefore perform the commandments which pronounced by the wise (God) himself, have been given to mankind: they are a nuisance and perdition to liars, but prosperity to the believer in the truth; they are the foundation of happiness.' The Israelite heard this unexpected protest. He was led on to compare the religion of the Mazdean with the monstrous worship of the Chaldæan; and distant as was even the former from the purer conception of the Mosaic code, he recognised as its fundamental tenet a hatred of idolatry, a scorn of all visible representation of the Deity, as fierce as his own. On examination he found the legislative enactments framed to meet the wants of his own fathers not obscurely echoed in those of his new friends: both were aimed at one result—the formation of an agricultural people[2]. In both there was drawn out a precise system of legal requirements: there were distinctions between animals clean and unclean: there were regulations to be observed on the occurrence of certain diseases, especially the leprosy: the marriage-tie and family relationships were elevated to the highest rank in the scale of social duties. And both based

[1] Gâtha Ahunavaiti, *Yaç.* 30; Haug, pp. 142–3. Cf. also, pp. 146, 256.

[2] Vendidad, *Farg.* III.; Spiegel, *Avesta*, I. p. 78 seq.; Haug, pp. 200, 206.

their principles upon religious grounds, and fenced them in by religious restrictions. These are minor features of approximation, it is true, but they would be of vast importance in breaking up the ground for farther and deeper comparisons between two schemes of oriental theosophy.

On his side, the Persian soon learnt to regard with high esteem the Mosaic religion. His readiness to accept foreign ideas is a matter of history[1]. Monuments of historic date exhibit Hebrew conceptions sometimes entirely appropriated, at others curiously worked up with genuine Persian ideas, but at the time of the introduction of the Persian to the Jew—the assimilating tendency to polytheistic corruptions had not begun. Mazdeism and Judaism presented then their parallel points to the inspection of the curious among the priests of Jehovah and Ormazd, and with what effect it is not altogether impossible to determine.

In the elaboration of this parallelism, it is of course necessary to check any tendency to speculative or wholesale deduction. The temptation to discover approximations is naturally great where the restriction is slight. The requisite restraint will however be supplied if it be remembered, and acted upon as a principle, that ideas do not pass over bodily and in a fully developed state from one nation to another, however great the affinity between their religious institutions. A foreign conception introduced to the notice of the Hebrew people would remain for some time a study for the learned; it would not be popularly adopted till after assimilation to the national tone; and this would be a work of appropriation involving a lapse of time more or less considerable. The truth of this is easily verified by the reference to the moral and religious state of the Jews of Palestine at the respective periods of one and three centuries after the return. The ample traces

[1] Herod. I. 135, *ξεινικὰ δὲ νόμαια Πέρσαι προσίενται ἀνδρῶν μάλιστα.* Vid. reff. to Spiegel, n. 2, p. 195, and add, *Avesta*, III. iii.—vii.

of Persian doctrine recognised in the pages of the Palestinian apocrypha require in explanation the intervening aid of the Jews who remained in Babylonia. The maintenance however of both principle and fact will not render it impossible that a learned Hebrew living at Babylon and Susa, during and after the time of the return (i. 21; x. 2) should have been incapable of such religious developement as is exhibited by the author of the book of Daniel. Judging the question upon historical and critical grounds, there are reasons which make it certain that such a man as Daniel professes to be, would be quite conversant with the Mazdean dogma and ceremonial of his day. Had he lived in the Maccabæan period his work would have been tainted with the additions and puerilities disfiguring true apocryphal literature.

It can hardly be supposed probable that the learned Jews of the exile remained strangers to the stirring revolutions of mind as well as of monarchy convulsing the land of their captivity; least of all would they remain indifferent to the religion of those whom they welcomed as deliverers[1]. Undisputed historical scripture has sketched in a few strokes the character and position of some of these men[2]. They were pupils, and presently masters, of the circle of sciences; versed in the peculiar tenets of their conquerors, and elevated to the highest dignities of the realm. Such were Zerubbabel, Ezra and Nehemiah; and such was Daniel. Bring to bear upon a powerful noble, supposed to have lived as Daniel lived, the external influences of contact with the Mazdean priests; permit to a devout Hebrew of the captivity that study of Scripture attributed to the Prophet (ix. 2), and there is nothing in the history of the period, nothing in the history of the man, to make his existence, or the conceptions accredited to him, impossible. But this while affirmed of the compara-

[1] Franck, p. 357.

[2] Cf. int. al. Ezra i. 2; ii. 1, and Josephus, *Antiq.* xi. ch. 4, 5.

tively small and learned class, cannot be maintained of the captive people generally; and for the following reasons. The generation that had come with Nebuchadnezzar from Judæa had mostly passed away. That which grew up within Chaldæan domains was deprived of all the external accessories of their religion. Ezekiel by his instructions, Daniel by his example, and the true priests of Israel by their active efforts, sought to counteract the dreaded effects of this compulsory omission. They restored and endeavoured to quicken into a living flame the true Monotheistic spirit; but they could not altogether dispel the clouds of ignorance, forgetfulness, and apathy, which weighed upon the mass of exiles scattered throughout Babylonia. It was task enough to fix the mind of a half-despairing, half-disbelieving, people upon the thought and promise of deliverance, without attempting to familiarize them with elaborate parallels between Mosaism and foreign creeds. And, therefore, when the proclamation of the Persian went forth: 'Who is among you of the people of God? his God be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem' (Ezra i. 3; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 23), that huge mass of Jerusalem-loving Israel went on their way with more love than learning; content to be taught afresh under the ruins of Zion all that had been forgotten within the precincts of Babylon. Notable proofs of their ignorance are fairly deduced from the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. The Jews who returned to Palestine were mostly of the poorer classes and correspondingly ignorant[1]. Their heads were taken, it is true, from the chief of the fathers of Judah and Benjamin, from priests and Levites; but the majority of the richer families preferred to remain behind under the mild paternal sway of the Persian. How they trafficked,

[1] Comp. Ezra i. 4, 6. Otho, *Lex. Rabb.* s. v. *Esras*, p. 174, ed. 1675. Nicolas, p. 10. It has been inferred that the whole number of exiles who chose to remain behind was about six times the number of those who returned. Vid. Art. 'Captivities of the Jews,' Smith, *Dict. of the Bible*, Vol. I. p. 277, b.

how they grew rich, and how they laid the foundation of the schools of Pumbeditha and Sora, so powerful in the developement of later Judaism, are matters of history. But the leaders of the first Palestinian colony had to begin from the very beginning the religious education of a generation born in the murky atmosphere of polytheism. Little else could be attempted but instruction in the simplest rules of the Mosaic system. The political and other mistakes which injured so much the existence of the young colony, reacted fatally upon this germinant religious training; and it was not till Ezra and Nehemiah, the fathers of Judaism, took up the national cause, that the band of patriots in Jerusalem felt their position secure. By that time the conceptions of the Babylonian Jew had become insensibly affected by the Mazdean influences around him, and he brought with him to Jerusalem the germs, if not something more, of those characteristics which were afterwards developed and never removed from Israel.

The Hebrews then, *as a people*[1], would not know much of the Persian system at the period of the return. The time for familiarising them with it—some two or three years only—was far too short, and their ignorance too great, to permit it. But can the same be asserted of those whose learning and reputation fitted them—in the eyes of Chaldæan despots and Persian kings—for the highest positions in the realm? If remarkable proficiency, integrity of character, and courtier-education prompted—at a later period—the recall of Nehemiah to the scenes of the Captivity (xiii. 6); why may they not have suggested the honourable retention of that Daniel who possessed such virtues in a most remarkable degree? It is, or rather it should be, an obvious mistake to confuse the maximum of

[1] I allude more particularly to the Jews of Babylon itself. The Jews of the outlying provinces conquered by Cyrus, would probably be the first to hear and see, but certainly the last to examine that system.

knowledge granted to the 'president' of Darius with the minimum of learning exhibited by his poorest fellow-countrymen. From what is now known of the age and dissemination of Mazdean dogmas, a learned Jew of the Captivity may certainly have been familiar with them. It would have been solely through his own fault or bigotry, had he preferred to be and to remain ignorant. Daniel's work appears—on its human side—thoroughly consonant to the state of information available in the age at which he lived. That he remained unaffected by the imperfections which rose to the surface of the Persian conceptions, requires no explanation to those who attach any meaning or value to inspiration.

For[1] many years it was usual to follow the lead of Anquetil Du Perron, and refer Zoroaster and his doctrines to the age of Hystaspes, the father of the great Darius. But the critical studies of Burnouf and Westergaard, assiduously pursued by worthy successors, have proved that at the most moderate computation, the prophet and the leading tenets of the Zend Avesta are of an age far antecedent to the dynasty of the Achæmenidæ. For many centuries previous to that era his opinions had been matters of oral tradition; a mode of transmission productive perhaps of variations on the score of accretion, yet sufficiently conducive to the preservation of fundamental truths[2]. Continued research has proved the necessity of carrying back the age of Zoroaster himself and the circulation of

[1] For these points v. Spiegel, *Avesta*, I. p. 41 sq.; II. pp. 2, 133 sq.; III. p. lxx sq. *Êran.* p. 271 sq. Westerg. *Pref. to Z. A.* pp. 16, 22. Hardwick, II. p. 366.

[2] Haug, p. 131. 'To the European reader it may be somewhat astonishing to hear that such large books as the Vedas could be faithfully and accurately retained in the memory for centuries; but considering that up to the present day thousands of Brahmans are living who are able to recite parrot-like with the greatest accuracy, even as to accents, without any mistake the whole of one of the Vedas, we are driven to admit that the same might have been the case at those early times to which we must trace the origin of the Zoroastrian religion.'

his opinions into prehistoric times. Lassen[1] at one time declared it utterly impossible to fix the period at which he lived; but Haug, conceding that exact determination is perhaps unattainable, has now concluded from the internal evidence of the Zendic literature, that the sacred teaching of the Persian began about 1200 B.C. and was closed about 400 B.C.[2]. In the opinion of the Poonah Professor[3] Zoroaster was a contemporary of Moses: a moderate estimate of his age, when compared with that of Pliny[4], who placed him 5000 years before the Trojan war, or that of Berosus who considered him King of the Babylonians and founder of a dynasty dominant over Babylon, between 2200 and 2000 B.C.

But under either date, ante-Achæmenian, or pre-historic, it will be seen that Daniel had at least the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the Mazdean creed. And when his character is considered, it would have been altogether contrary to the known activity of his mind, and to the prestige of his early promise, as well as to his position as President[5],—had he refused to examine the tenets of the Persian as he had examined the creed of the astrologer (ii. 27–8). The study once commenced, there was much to induce him to continue it. He would recognise there points of doctrine which for centuries had been stirring the depths of the Hebrew mind, but had never been so boldly, so coarsely, expressed. He would find in Mazdeism a theory upon the origin of evil, expectations of a deliverer, a belief in the doctrines of the Resurrection of the body and the Immortality of the soul. There he could trace angelological and demonological conceptions at once consonant with and yet divergent from his own. There he

[1] *Ind. Alt.* I. 754.
[2] So Spiegel, *Av.* III. p. lxxviii.
[3] Haug, *op. cit.* pp. 224, 255.
[4] *Hist. Natur.* XXX. 1–3.
[5] Possibly of the religious class. Cf. p. 181, n. 1.

might trace ethical and ceremonial directions correspondent in outline to the regulations inculcated by Moses. It is no infringement upon the Divine revelation accorded to Daniel, to affirm that these parallelisms would have their attractions to him as a man. If Babylonian symbolism was the permitted vehicle of supernatural illustration, Mazdean Eschatology furnished also a lesson and a caution, where the caution exceeded the lesson:—a lesson imparting to the Prophet the existence of parallel lines of religious thought; a caution reminding him of the far higher, because revealed, source of the doctrines correspondent to them in the Hebrew faith. The recognition of this, far from diminishing, adds force to the deep belief that the God of heaven chose that time to teach His servant 'things to come' in a more plain developed form. The time had arrived when the purity of Mosaism was to be contrasted with the comparatively refined creed of Mazdeism. The opponent of Paganism and the Puritan of Paganism were brought face to face. Each found in the system of each, points of union indicative of the one aboriginal source from which they proceeded. But the prophet of the Hebrews inspired by God, drew from Revelation purer conceptions of Divine truths than had ever been granted to the pagan Monotheist. A correcting influence—and that alone—preserved the 'greatly beloved' from sinking into speculations congenial to the writers of the Yashts, the Bundehesh or the Minokhired.

But while maintaining that it was thus in the power of an exile living at the end of the Captivity, to study and analyse the Mazdean dogmas; while asserting of Daniel that it was open to him to appreciate forms and conceptions of the Persian system, by means of the fuller light shed upon parallel features of his own belief,—I yet would most emphatically affirm that the points of divergence between these creeds are far too marked to permit the idea of derivation or of identification. It is an artifice very

unworthy of modern criticism to point out features common to the Book of Daniel and the Zend Avesta, and boldly assert the statements of the former inspired by a study of the latter. Mere resemblance can never constitute identity. The point is worth pursuing in one or two instances. The whole train of the Messianic thought of the Book of Daniel—with its there revealed accompaniments of resurrection and immortality—has been pronounced of Mazdean derivation. Can the statement be substantiated? How is the subject treated in the pages of Daniel and the Zend Avesta respectively? I have not to trace here the early growth of Messianic ideas[1]. I would take them up at the stage presented in the Book of Daniel. All that originally formed the foundation of Messianic belief is to be found in his pages, but with certain developements[2]. A new and brighter light is shed upon things to come. The veil over the future is raised higher; details are added for the most part absent from the writings of the older Prophets. Daniel's visions include nothing less than the history of the great nations destined to figure on the stage of the world before the advent of the Messiah. Daniel announces that the Messiah shall not appear among men, till four mighty monarchies shall have successively asserted their claim to universal dominion. The grand features in the history of these kingdoms, the tragic events connected with the rise and fall of each are symbolically depicted. It is quite a matter of indifference whether these four kingdoms be explained in accordance with the traditional or modern view. Either application illustrates the one fact that the advent of the Messiah is attached to successive revolutions of nations. To the Prophet those revolutions are necessary antecedents to the establishment of the kingdom of God upon earth—

[1] For a brief but admirable delineation of this growth, vid. Döllinger, II. p. 391, and Hardwick, I. p. 121 sq.

[2] Nicolas, p. 270.

that kingdom which is to be the greatest and the last. Numerous calamities precede and announce this advent. At 'the time of the end'—the hour preceding God's indignation—the 'abomination of desolation' is to last a certain definite time, and then ensues the punishment of the transgressors. 'Many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt.' The Kingdom of the Most High is founded by the Messiah. He decrees its extension over all people, and its duration eternal.

Now if the Mazdean conception of the Sosiosh[1] or Liberator, is compared with this, how true will appear the remark[2]: 'while the presentiments that arose in other countries were but dim and floating visions of the night, with nothing in the past or present to which they could attach themselves, and therefore destitute of moral power and practical results; the Messianic doctrine of the Hebrews was real, living, and coherent.' Like the Children of Israel the worshippers of Ormazd expected their Deliverer. In the fragment of an old Epic Song preserved in the Vendidad[3], Zoroaster speaks to Angrô-mainyus. 'Evil-doing A. M. I will slay the creation produced by the devils. I will slay the death, I will slay the Pairika Khnâthaiti[4] for whose destruction Sosiosh will be born out of the water Kaçoya from the eastern country.' It is but a solitary passage, deficient in itself of all that would suggest resemblance, but it has been made to do good service. The necessary features of a full-length portrait have been freely

[1] The Soskyans (Haug) or Çaoschyañç (Spiegel) of the Zend. Spiegel translates it 'der Nützliche.' Sometimes several, sometimes only one Sosiosh is mentioned. Haug, p. 268. Spiegel, *Av.* I. p. 244, n. 1.

[2] Hardwick, I. p. 141.

[3] *Farg.* XIX. Haug gives the ballad in its metrical form, pp. 213–5. I have adopted his translation. Spiegel's will be found in the *Zeitschr. d. D.M.G.* Vol. I. p. 262, or *Av.* I. p. 244; it is translated by Hardwick, II. p. 429.

[4] 'Probably an idol worshipped in Kandahar or thereabouts' (Haug).

supplied from the pages of the Bundehesh and other works of the Sassanian period; and a sketch thus finished is presented as the parallel to the Messiah of Israel, and the source of inspiration to the writer of the Book of Daniel. A very slight examination shews that the Persian full-blown conception is totally unlike the Hebrew[1]. The Sosiosh of the later Mazdean scheme appears, by order of Ormazd, at a time when wickedness and injustice have become terribly prevalent among men,—at the end, adds M. Nicolas, of the fourth Persian dynasty. The fall of this dynasty will be stamped by terrible calamities. Nations shall unite and engage in a long and fierce struggle against the worshippers of Ormazd. The shedding of blood shall be so great, that it shall turn mill-wheels with the force of a torrent. The wicked shall triumph over the good, and the lovers of darkness over the true devotees of light. Two prophets, Oschedar-bami and Oschedar-Mah[2], precede the Sosiosh, and during their several reigns of 1000 years prepare the way for his coming. They are men who 'perpetuate the life,' men of the same stamp as the ancient prophets and fire priests, and bearing the same name of Soshyantô. Sosiosh himself at length appears. He is believed to be a son of Zarathustra Spitama (Zoroaster) begotten in a supernatural way. He, and he alone, brings with him a hitherto unknown Nosk of the Zend Avesta, and reveals it to mankind[3]. He is the con-

[1] Cf. for the following paragraphs the works of Haug, Spiegel and Hardwick in places quoted. Franck, *Études Orient.* pp. 98-9, 238-9. Döllinger, II. 411 sq. Nicolas, p. 300. The last writer has framed his sketch by an ingenious interlacing of Vendidad, Bundehesh, Minokhired, Huzvaresh gloss upon the Yaçna, Ulem-i-Islam, and the 'ziemlich späte' Jamaçp-name; but it should not be forgotten that the critical gap between the last named work and the Bundehesh, is perhaps as great as that between the Bundehesh and the Vendidad.

[2] This is Spiegel's spelling, *Av.* I. p. 32. Haug gives them Hukh-shathra Mâo and H. Bâmya.

[3] This is the older view: according to the Minokhired each of the precursors of Sosiosh is to add a Nosk to the ancient Books.

queror of death, the judge of the world, and recalls the dead to life. All are raised by him, and made immortal by drinking of the Sacred Homa. The joys of recognition follow. These ended, there ensues a separation of the just and unjust. Husband is severed from wife, sister from brother, friend from friend, by the sentence of Sosiosh enthroned as a Judge. Those who can endure the ordeal of that day pass to Gorotman or the dwelling of Ormazd, but the Darvands or impure are hurled into Duzakh or hell. Ultimately[1] a great fire of purification breaks out. The comet Guryscher, hitherto restrained by the moon, precipitates itself upon the earth. The pure and impure pass alike through the refiner's furnace. Ahriman vanishes in the flames[2], and Duzakh with its godless tenants is renovated by the scorching fire. From that hour evil is annihilated and the regenerated world reflects the image of heaven only. Men unite in singing the glory of Ormazd and of the Amshashpands.

What, then, is a fair deduction from this comparison? Can it be that proposed by M. Nicolas[3]: "Change the names in this great Mazdean drama, and you will fancy yourself reading a Jewish Apocalypse. There are resemblances affecting the most minor points of detail. The fifth monarchy of Daniel corresponds to the fifth dynasty founded by the liberator Sosiosh. The prince of the evil spirits, who places himself at the head of the idolatrous people to fight against the chosen people of God, resembles greatly the prince of darkness leading the Devas and the impure nations against the prince of light and His worshippers. The Messianic reign of 1000 years recalls the 'hazare,' or similar period, of the two precursors of the modern liberator. And in the Jewish Apocalypse, as in the Mazdean Eschatology, a resurrection of the dead is

[1] After three days' separation, according to some. v. Franck, *l. c.*

[2] Or offers sacrifice. Id.

[3] *Op. cit.* p. 303.

placed at the commencement of the reign of the deliverer and of the proclamation of a new law." What does this parallel teach, asks the same writer, but that 'the Doctors of the synagogue, without absolutely intending it, without perhaps being altogether conscious of their act, recalled Persian opinions to aid them in their explanation of the Messianic expectation of their fathers'?

With the views entertained by this writer as to the late[1] amalgamation of ideas between Jew and Persian, this deduction is natural. But when drawn from a parallel framed indiscriminately from traditions ancient and modern, genuine and spurious, is it either critical or legitimate? The poetical feeling inventive of this 'change' may be thanked for so graceful a conception, but it cannot atone for the entire absence of all critical basis. If[2] it was an innate cause, and not the Apocalyse of the worshippers of Ormazd which determined the formation of what is truly Jewish Apocalypse; if there are divergences between them altogether subversive of the idea of identity; and if criticism can satisfy itself that the Book of Daniel supplied the groundwork of later Jewish Apocalyptic literature;—then the gap between the thoughts of the Prophet and of the Mazdean is wide indeed. Traces of parallelism dwindle down to the most microscopic proportions; of imitation there is none. It is a mistake to represent either the one or the other as existing in the sense intended.

A spirit of deeper reflection, as regards these points, has grown up of late years. It is felt to be impossible to explain the Messianic eschatological ideas of either Hebrew or Persian system, if imitation, reproduction, or adaptation, be assumed as the fundamental cause of their presence in either creed. M. Nicolas' own words above may be taken as a protest against the supposition. The opinion requires no proof as regards the doctrine of a Messiah. Of resem-

[1] *i.e.* not till long after the captivity.

[2] These are M. Nicolas' own concessions, pp. 305, 307.

blance between Daniel and the *real* Zend literature there is none; or it is of so trifling a description as to repudiate all idea of derivation of the one from the other. It may well be questioned whether direct derivation can even have alloyed the thoughts and writings of the Maccabæan era to the degree asserted. At that age the Persian power was virtually extinct, and a Mazdean conception would be very much out of fashion with the chance moralist or romancer of the day. Further, the idea connected, as it always was by the Jew, with the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, was certainly unfamiliar to the Greek conqueror. It had not penetrated to Athens by the time of St Paul (Acts xvii. 22).

The same claim for independence may be asserted for that other great doctrine just mentioned. Can it be supposed, with M. Nicolas[1], that the developement of the belief in the resurrection did not take place till the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, and then only through the school of the Pharisees? The same critic himself allows that this doctrine 'did not come suddenly into existence; its roots penetrate deeply into the past.' But if so, what then are the grounds for asserting that 'previous to the Antiochian era, it had never been to the doctors of the law anything more than an object of speculation'? If there is a past into which the roots of this doctrine penetrate, why is the creed of that past upon this subject to be degraded into a mere tissue of speculative fancies? If as a popular belief it finds no surviving record till the Maccabæan era,—though this I altogether deny,—what is the value of the argumentum e silentio? Can it amount to a refutation of the belief of centuries that it existed long before the time of the captivity? Can it at all render it impossible that it should have been revealed to such a man as Daniel? Revelation rises superior to impossibilities. A belief that God has at

[1] p. 330–31.

any time spoken by the mouth of His holy Prophets, involves also a belief that He can reveal what He will to whom He will, and when He will. But, in truth, the authority for this opinion is sought in external considerations alone, without reference to the conditions of revelation. It is argued first, that such ideas were unknown till the post-Babylonian period; and, secondly, that they could not have been moulded into the shape presented by the Book of Daniel till after long contest with Mazdean Eschatology. There are facts which, I venture to affirm, amount to a critical refutation of such positions.

Of the numerous and various opinions upon the origination of this doctrine, one, in former times highly-esteemed, has now well-nigh ceased to be entertained. It can no longer be pretended that the doctrine was the product of the speculative spirit of the later Jewish schools of Palestine. The workings of the mind of a great nation will, no doubt, of themselves fructify beliefs, where loans from foreign sources would be powerless; but there is a limit beyond which speculation and philosophy cannot pass; and that limit is soon attained in discussing the subject of the resurrection of the dead. M. Nicolas[1] has therefore chosen his ground, in one sense, most wisely when he pretends to 'see in this belief,—and in those which logically support or attach themselves to it,—a product' not of speculation simply, nor of Mazdeism only, but 'of the political and religious movement called into being by the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes.' It is in that period that he discovers the circumstances to which it owed its importance. It is probable, explains this writer[2], that at one of those moments which formed an epoch in the history of the Hebrew people the Jewish doctors, struck by the Mazdean tenet of a resurrection of the body, were led to compare it with their own belief in Sheol. They found the conception

[1] p. 357. [2] p. 348 sq.

of the Persian superior to and more satisfactory than their own; and they conceived the idea of completing their own peculiar opinions, and satisfying their spiritual wants by assimilating such foreign opinions as would admit of modification and accommodation. In this process of assimilation they were careful to appropriate such points alone as attached themselves readily to their own traditions, antecedents, and sacred compositions. In this manner the fresh elements introduced would appear to be but new modes of expressing old truths, or as naturally resulting from them. To effect this was the self-imposed task undertaken by the Rabbin. Already possessed by the mania for subtleties characteristic of his mode of exegesis, he now discovered in every page of Holy Scripture ideas which for centuries he had seen nowhere. Moses, the historic books, and the Prophets, were made to furnish a kind of Scriptural demonstration of the doctrine of the Resurrection; a demonstration arbitrary enough, but capable of adaptation to Jewish intelligence such as it was then and such as it remained for many years later. But in his formation and developement of this doctrine he was careful to regard it strictly as a postulate of his Messianic expectations[1]. The two beliefs were to him inseparable. And it was by their united help that he kindled into a flame the patriotism of those who took up arms to protect their worship and their independence against the persecution of a Greek madman[2].

This line of argument will be felt to be ingenious rather than true. Judged by the standard of orthodox theology, it is, of course, deficient; critically, I venture to assert its base unnecessary.

Assuming[3], as in a previous instance, that the Hebrew

[1] Of the belief in the Messiah and the belief in the Resurrection he tersely remarks: 'La première appelle la seconde, qui la complete.' p. 356.

[2] A well-accredited play upon the name transformed Epiphanes into Epimanes.

[3] With Archd. Hardwick, II. p. 427.

Prophets would have felt no difficulty in borrowing, if required, novel tenets from the creed of their enslavers, it is at the same time undeniable that the doctrine of the resurrection of the body existed to some extent among the 'chosen people' long before the Captivity of Babylon. Debateable texts, if incapable of proving that that doctrine was fully and definitely held, do yet bear witness to the currency of the opinion. They prove, at least, that the idea of a resurrection was not repugnant to the feelings of the ancient Hebrew, but rather coincided with expectations fostered by his belief in God's redemptive mercy. For example, the words which Daniel is supposed to have written under the inspiration of the Zoroastrian creed, are in perfect unison with the declarations of Isaiah two centuries earlier. If the Prophet of the Captivity points onward to the eventful hour when 'many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake' (xii. 2), the prophet of the reign of Ahaz had already declared that 'the Lord shall swallow up death in victory' (Isai. xxv. 8); language reft of ambiguity by the further explanation, 'Thy dead men shall live, together with my dead body shall they arise: awake and sing, ye that dwell in dust...for the earth shall cast out her dead.' Few can read such words, or the well-known passage of Daniel's contemporary, Ezekiel (xxxvii. 1—14), without feeling the utter inadequacy of such an explanation as the following: 'These passages express in reality but the promise of deliverance to the children of Israel. Such an event seemed, in the natural course of things, for ever impossible; and to mark its impossibility, it is compared to the resurrection of the bodies of the dead[1].' The Christian does well to believe that it was Christ and not Moses who brought 'life and immortality to light;' but he also believes that there must have been a meaning attaching itself from the very first

[1] Nicolas, pp. 313, 314.

to the phrase 'I am the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob.' He who spake as never man spake commented upon it: 'God is not the God of the dead, but of the living' (St Luke xx. 37).

But the opinion of M. Nicolas' school is critically deficient. It is wrong to assert that for critical reasons it could not have been written at the time of the Captivity. Such an opinion is based upon the incorrect supposition that the writer of the book of Daniel was a Palestinian Jew who borrowed from Mazdeism; and that such Mazdeism was not possible to the Jews of Palestine till the Maccabæan era[1].

The proof of this supposition rests on the following grounds. It is asserted that none of the ancient writings of the Zendic literature contain the doctrine[2]. The passages of the Vendidad which Anquetil Du Perron rendered 'till the resurrection,' required and have received correction; Burnouf[3] has proved them incapable of such a translation. This has thrown discredit upon the antiquity of the belief among the Persians, and consequently, it is added, among the Jews. But the still later researches of M. Haug have proved that this doctrine *is* found in the Zend Avesta[4]. In the Zamyâd Yasht, a composition to be referred to about the fifth century B.C., there is celebrated the praise of 'a mighty brightness peculiar to the Kavis,' (or the chiefs of the Iranian community in ancient times); —a brightness considered essential for causing the dead to rise at the end of the world. The Yasht contains two passages on the subject of the doctrine. The translation of the second is as follows: 'This splendour attaches itself to

[1] Nicolas, p. 345.

[2] Id. p. 342.

[3] *Journ. Asiat.* Vol. x. p. 7 sq. Spiegel, *Zeitschr. d. D.M.G.* Vol. i. pp. 260–61. *Avesta*, i. pp. 15, 248, n. 2. Hardwick, ii. p. 425.

[4] Haug, *Die Gâthas d. Zarathustra*, Erst. Abth. p. 112. Leips. 1858. *Essays*, &c. pp. 195–6, 224. Windischmann, and Spiegel in the new volume of his *Z. A.* (1863), adopt the same opinion. *Av.* iii. p. lxxv.

the hero who is to rise out of the number of prophets, and to his companions, in order to make the life everlasting, undecaying, imputrescible, incorruptible, for ever existing, for ever vigorous, full of power, at the time when the dead will rise again, and imperishableness of life shall exist, making the life lasting by itself. All the world will remain for eternity in the state of purity; the devil will disappear from all those places whence he used to attack the religious men in order to kill them; and all his brood and creatures will be doomed to destruction.' The doctrine as here enunciated presupposes a prior existence in a less-developed state; and its origin may therefore well be placed, without exaggeration, far before the age of the Captivity. But the passage has suggested the question whether Zoroaster himself entertained this doctrine or not? Now though in the Gâthas the belief in the resurrection is not stated in so many words, yet a phrase is there used which was afterwards always applied to signify the time of the resurrection and the restoration to life of all that had once lived. 'Let us be such as help the life of the future,' is the prayer of Zoroaster in the Gâtha Ahunavaiti[1]; the reason being added, 'the wise-living spirits are the greatest supporters of it.' Out of the phrase with which this passage opens, a substantive expressing 'perpetuation of life' has been framed, by which in all the later Zend books, the whole period of resurrection and palingenesis is understood[2]. It is in this sense that the Çpenta Armaiti is invoked in the Vendidad[3] to restore 'at the happy time of perpetuation of life the seeds lost, and make of them a

[1] *Yaçna*, XXX. 9. *Die Gâthas, u. s. w.* pp. 9, 109–12, where the translation is in Latin. *Essays*, &c. pp. 143, 266.

[2] 'frashô-kereti,' from the phrase 'frashem keranao ahûm:' the word 'frashem' has been derived from two roots: 'nach der ersten heisst das Wort Frage, Befragung; nach der zweiten fortdauernde Herrschaft order Fortdauer überhaupt.' Neriosengh's Sanscrit translation agrees with the latter. (*Die Gâthas*, p. 109.)

[3] *Fargard*, XVIII. 51.

pious Zoroastrian who knows the Gâthas, the Yaçna, and the divine conversations.' 'From these direct proofs,' concludes Professor Haug, 'there can be no doubt that this important doctrine is a genuine Zoroastrian dogma, which developed itself from Zarathustra Spitama's sayings. It agrees wholly with the spirit and tendency of the Parsee religion. All life of the good creation, chiefly that of man, the bodily as well as the spiritual, is a sacred pawn entrusted by God to man, who must keep clean the body from impurity and the soul from sin. If death destroys the body (in its natural course) it is not the fault of man, who falls to an inexorable fate; but it is considered as the duty of God, who is the preserver of all life, to restore all life that has fallen to the prey of death, to destroy this arch-fiend of human life, and make the life then, everlasting. This is to be done at the time of the grand act of resurrection:' a process described in detail in the Bundehesh[1]. If then this doctrine dates among the Persians as far back as Zoroaster's own age, it was, as a mere matter of historic possibility, quite within the power of a learned exile of the Captivity to become acquainted with the tenet of his liberator[2]. Nothing, on that ground, is opposed to Daniel's presumed knowledge of it. It is equally indefensible to say that what he knew he borrowed. No one now maintains this of even the later Jewish doctors. M. Nicolas[3] can discover indications only that Mazdeism exercised a certain influence upon Judaism in the formation of this

[1] Ch. xxxi. Westergaard, pp. 70–7.

[2] Franck, *Études*, &c. p. 288. 'Quand on songe que livre de Daniel a été écrit au plustôt à la fin de l'exile de Babylone, c'est-à-dire dans le temps ou Zoroastre accomplissait sa mission, on ne saurait douter qu'il ne se soit inspiré de la religion des Perses, qui compte au nombre de ses dogmes fondamentaux ...la resurrection universelle.' In his other work, this author guards himself from misconstruction by affirming strongly that the '*source* of the fundamental doctrines' common to these creeds 'must be carried much higher' than the age of the Captivity. *La Kabb.* p. 359 sq. M. Franck's opinion upon Zoroaster's *date* is that of the day in which his work was published.

[3] p. 346.

doctrine. The main element at work was undoubtedly not external but internal agency. In fact, all charge of borrowing, whether of Jew from Persian or of Persian from Jew is unworthy of real criticism. 'In both these religions,' says M. Haug[1], 'identical doctrines sprang up independently.' The modern critic does not dispute this, if the authenticity of a Persian dogma is in question; why should he refuse the same justice to the Hebrew? Historically speaking it can no longer be counted an impossibility that the period of the Captivity should have been selected as the fittest season for inculcating Divine lessons distinguished from, though not opposed to, those communicated in earlier times. The law of progress and expansion acknowledged 'in the beginning,' should not be denied existence and action at a time when moral and political conditions united in depicting it as the most appropriate for the investiture of dim apprehensions with their fullest glory and yet most spiritual expression.

It is impossible[2], as it would be dishonest, to deny that striking parallelisms do exist between doctrines preserved in the extant sacred literature of the Hebrew, the Christian, and the Persian; but when a truly ancient relationship does so present itself, it is not to be explained on the hypothesis of the derivation of the one from the other, but by the truer and deeper cause of original unity. Points of doctrine held in common, and according to the Hebrew Scriptures affirmed to have been current in the Jewish Church for centuries before the Babylonian Captivity, must not be treated as if the originals were buried beneath some foreign system, and the Jew alone possessed by an imitative spirit. The theory of original unity is now regarded by many writers of our own and other countries as that which furnishes the key to genuine affinities; these are products of the original truth which Hebrew and Persian alike

[1] *Essays*, &c. p. 2. [2] Hardw. II. p. 408.

inherited from the fathers of the human family. 'If a truth, said a great Cambridge professor[1], 'less developed in the Mosaic system, be found without derivation from the Israelites among the adherents of Zoroaster, it is not therefore to be concluded that the authority of the ancient revelation is in jeopardy. The most reverent regard to the inviolable sacredness of that truth, with which the father of the promised seed and his descendants were peculiarly entrusted, consists well with the belief in the preservation of much original truth elsewhere. And if such is found in nations most infected with polytheistic error, much more may it be well conceived to have existed in one by which the grosser forms of idolatry were ever held in peculiar abhorrence; a nation whose greatest prince is signally honoured by Divine prophecy in being named as the future restorer of God's people to their ancient seat, and whose sages were summoned from afar, before the great and wise of Israel, to adore the infant Redeemer.' The best Christians see neither scandal nor contradiction in admitting 'strong historical resemblance[2];' they protest only against counting such resemblance inexplicable save on the supposition of conscious fraud on the part of the Jew; a fraud, be it remembered, always aggravated in insolence by the affixing to it a supposititious title of some chosen servant of God.

I pass on to the criticism which ranks the Book of Daniel with the apocryphal literature of the last two centuries before Christianity[3]. One word, however, of preface upon this literature generally.

[1] Mill, *On the Mythical Interpretation of the Gospels*, pp. 128–9.

[2] It is Schlegel's phrase. *Philosophy of History*, pp. 173–4, quoted by Hardw. II. p. 403, n. 2.

[3] v. p. 265.

The precepts of Moses, when studied in the Prophetic Books, are found to have acquired—especially in their moral applications—a developed form. In their turn, the conceptions of the Prophets yielded to a similar law of expansion. They were defined and expounded by the doctors of the great Synagogue and by the fathers of the Mishna and Midrashim, successively, with a fulness, a particularity, and too often, a puerility, indicative of an era of transformation. This period of mingled transition and decay is illustrated by surviving apocryphal fragments which prove, unwittingly, that the age of the Prophets had ended, and that of the Scribes begun. In their pages are drawn out, with more or less distinctness, the alterations in the Jewish mind and character, and the different phases of Judaism in Palestine and Alexandria;—sketch-like indications of effects resulting from contact with the creeds and new world of Egypt, or issuing out of the fierce struggle waged in the Holy Land against foreign infusion. The most cursory perusal satisfies the reader that the ἀκριβὴς διαδοχὴ of Prophets had ceased[1]. Inspiration, poetical power, are absent; the true prophetic element is extinct. There is an evident assumption of historical foundation in order to secure weight to the parænetical object of the composer of the legend. An absence of honesty, and a debased spirit of imitation, disfigure the train of thought and action. The simplicity and accuracy characteristic of the Old Testament history are replaced by patent errors and anachronisms; and names illustrious from antiquity are not unfrequently appended to give weight to the compositions of the hour[2]. In a word, this literature exhibits a religious and ethical developement which marks broadly but decisively the lapse from Hebraism into Judaism.

This peculiar class of writing, moulding its outer frame-

[1] Josephus, *c. Ap.* I. 8. (Vol. II. p. 341, ed. Dind.)

[2] The Books of Esdras, the additions to Daniel, the Wisdom of Solomon, the letters of Baruch and Jeremiah, are instances in point.

work upon the model of prophetic apocalypse, and its ideas of past and future upon the signs of the times, was called into existence during the struggle of Judaism against the political might and proselytising theology of Hellenism[1]. It would be easy to graduate roughly the existing series of apocryphal or pseudo-Canonical works, but I have only to consider them here as they affect the question under discussion. Is the Book of Daniel to be numbered in the list? Does it exhibit the features common to the class?

A no inconsiderable school affects to give it honour by entitling it the first, or the source, or the model of apocryphal books,—a parentage confessedly demanding the surrender of canonical reputation. With some it is contemporaneous with the third book of the Sibylline Oracles, but of independent origin; with others, it preceded that work by some thirty years, and suggested its ideas: the dissentients salving their difference by agreeing to accredit both compositions to the same Antiochian era. To the mind of an unprejudiced reader, this very questionable 'honour,' and this 'little' difference provoke a query against the soundness of the one base of agreement. Certainly, the doubt is not diminished, when the difference between the tone, thought, and habits of a Palestinian writer and an Egyptian Sibyl is permitted its weight in the solution of the question.

It can hardly require proof that the relations between the Jews of Palestine and of Alexandria were of a very slight[2] description at the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. From the day that Ptolemy led his captive Israelites from the gates of Jerusalem, in the year 312 B.C., agencies were at work engendering and producing separation.

[1] Nicolas, p. 3.

[2] Frankel, 'Das Verhältniss d. Alexandrin. u. Paläst. Judenthums,' *Zeitschr. d. D.M.G.* Vol. IV. p. 102 sq. appears to me to press the connection too closely. I have adopted, by preference, the views of Franck, *La Kabb.* p. 271 sq., and Nicolas, p. 109 sq. Cf. also Herzfeld, *Gesch.* Vol. II. (1857), pp. 464, 499–501.

In maintaining this there is no intention of isolating completely and from the first Alexandrian and Palestinian conceptions. The Holy Land will always claim, and receive, recognition as the native soil and seed-plot of the creed common to the African and Asiatic Jew. The existence of the LXX. Version proves convincingly the attachment of the Jews of Alexandria to the faith of their ancestors; and many difficult passages in that version may be explained by the exegesis and religious code derived from Palestine. Wherever the numbers of the exiles permitted it the Synagogue rose from the ground to illustrate and perpetuate the same feeling. Frequently too the Alexandrian succeeded in converting the pagan to Monotheism, but no instance is known of his own secession; not one Jew is recorded as having offered sacrilegious incense upon heathen altars. Alexandrian Judaism undoubtedly received its original impetus from Judæa, and Monotheism incurred no danger among the Hellenistic Jews. But as time rolled on it was seen that their religious habits, their theological views, indicated a bent different to that ruling the Palestinian mind. It would have been strange had this not been the case. At a distance from the conservative agencies of home and the influences of the fatherland;—dwelling among nations entertaining different ideas, living in populous towns where creed, language, and morals, were different from their own,—the Hellenistic Jews were exposed, as it were, to a strange current of air sweeping away the weighty vapours of local prejudices and local considerations. They yielded, as was natural, to the spell of ideas new, generous, and cosmopolitan, but altogether foreign and repulsive to their brethren in Palestine. At Jerusalem the introduction of any foreign element was resented as the act of an enemy. The precursors of later Pharisaism were already taking steps to convert their fellow-countrymen into sectaries or machines. An attachment to routine, a stringent enforcement of minute often to the

omission of weightier points, and a slavish subservience to the will of some rabbin counting himself oracular through the absence of opposition, were fast transforming the religious of Jerusalem into formalists, and merging their spiritual worship into ceremonies which constituted but its external expression. The Jews dispersed among the Greeks were not exposed to this. They ceased to attach to the ceremonies celebrated in the Holy City the same importance as their co-religionists of Judæa. Placed in the centre of a civilisation different from that enjoyed or presupposed by the upholders of Mosaism, it was impossible for them to observe many of the Pharisaic requirements. Mosaism among the Alexandrians disengaged itself from the formalism encumbering it in Palestine: it entered upon the path opened up to it by the Prophets, and assumed the features of a spiritualized religion. It is matter of history[1] that the Alexandrian was entirely ignorant of the Rabbinic institutions rooted in Palestine two centuries before Christ. The writings of Wisdom, Philo, the 4th Book of Maccabees—all compositions of an Alexandrian pen—never contain a single allusion to the names of those who ranked highest as authorities among the Jews of Palestine, such as Simon the High Priest, or the Tanaim who succeeded him. Not one reference is found to the disputes agitating the schools of a Hillel and a Shammai, or the customs of every kind collected in the Mishna, and presently raised to the dignity of law. A corresponding ignorance pervades the Holy Land. The Jews of Palestine know as little of their countrymen in Egypt. They are acquainted with the Version of the LXX. by report only, and reverence it in humble deference to the extravagant fable of Aristeas. Throughout the Mishna and the two Gemaras there is not a token indicative of the influence of Aristobulus, Philo, or other writers of Alexandrian apocrypha. In fact the fusion

[1] Franck, *Études*, p. 272.

between Jewish theology and Greek philosophy commenced by Aristobulus and perfected by Philo separates as by an abyss the Judaism of Alexandria from that of Palestine. If the formalism of Jerusalem is replaced at Alexandria by an exaggerated idealism, the change is accompanied by a surrender of the Rabbinic attachment to the 'letter,' and an adoption of the Hellenistic preference for the 'spirit' of the sacred law. If Alexandria knows nothing of the moral regulations or the thousand Pharisaic precepts framed to elevate the soul to God; or if Palestine is ignorant of the mystic principles, asceticism, and ecstasy, supposed to make their possessor independent of the conventionalities of a system;—a correspondent divergence is remarked in their assertion of the inner truths of which these are the external indices. Alexandria[1] troubles herself but little with the Messianic expectations which promised the empire of the world to the children of Israel. Jerusalem does not know, and would not understand, the confidence of Philo in abstract ideas upon the moral amelioration of the human race and the definite triumph of Monotheism.

How broad a line of demarcation does this almost necessitate between the literature of these respective schools. How clear and well-defined must be their distinctive teaching. How little capable of amalgamation. What was original to each would exhibit the characteristic stamp of the land of its birth; what was common, would be derived in part from the fundamental ideas of a creed held in common centuries before the day of separation; all beyond would be the result of imitation.

How then does this affect the status of Daniel when compared with apocryphal works generally, and particularly with that with which it has been so freely associated, the composition of the Alexandrian Sibyl? The third Book of the Sibylline Oracles—the composition in question—

[1] Nicolas, p. 138.

was, according to Bleek, Lücke, Gfrörer, Alexandre and Friedlieb[1], a work of the first half of the second century before Christ, i.e. about 170—60. In the view of the same school this is also the date of the Book of Daniel. Any idea, therefore, of imitation of the one by the other, is precluded by the chronological coincidence. And this, it is well known, is the opinion entertained by Bleek[2]. He rejects all idea of imitation, and considers the Sibyllist and Daniel to have derived their ideas from one common source;—a view shared with him by Lücke[3], but rejected by Hilgenfeld[4] as convenient rather than critical. A deeper study must tend to discredit these views. The chronological coincidence can be maintained no longer. For many critical reasons the Sibylline Book cannot be dated so early. Hilgenfeld refers its composition to the interval between the years 142—37 B.C.; Reuss to 132; and Ewald[5] to later still, 124 B.C. This clears the way for the belief in the imitation of Daniel's Book on the part of the Sibyl; and of the soundness of this belief there can be no doubt. The mere perusal of the lines[6]

> Ῥίζαν ἴαν γε διδοὺς, ἣν καὶ κόψει βροτόλοιγος
> Ἐκ δέκα δὴ κεράτων παρὰ δὴ φυτὸν ἄλλο φυτεύσει
> ..... καὶ τότε δὴ παραφυόμενον κέρας ἄρξει

recalls the parent-vision of Daniel vii. 7, 8, 11, 20. An opinion which claims the suffrages not only of the critics

[1] Bleek, 'Ueber d. Sibyllinen,' in Schleiermacher's *Zeitschr.* Heft I. p. 120 sq.; II. p. 172 sq. (1819–20). Lücke, *Einl. in d. Offenb. Joh.* p. 116 (1ste Aufl.). Gfrörer, *Philo.* Theil II. p. 121 sq. Alexandre, *Oracula Sibyllina. Introd.* (Par. 1862). Friedlieb (J. H.), *Die Sibyllinisch. Weissagungen. Einl.* p. xxxviii. sq. (Leips. 1852).

[2] In Schleiermacher's *Zeitschr.* Heft III. § 25, and in *Jahrb. f. Deutsch. Theol.* p. 62 (1860).

[3] *Einl.* p. 72 (2te Aufl.).

[4] *Die Jüd. Apok.* p. 69, Anm.

[5] Hilg. pp. 54 sq., 81 sq. Reuss, 'Sibyllen.' Herzog, *Real-Encycl.* Vol. XIV. pp. 321–2. Ewald, *Abhandl. über Enstehung d. Sibyllisch. Bücher*, p. 10 (Gott. 1858).

[6] ver. 396 (ed. Friedlieb).

just mentioned, but also of such opposite theologians as Hävernick and Volkmar, Nicolas and Zündel[1] is not to be lightly set aside. Hilgenfeld, the most uncompromising opponent of the authenticity of the Book of Daniel, has not hesitated to affirm upon inductive grounds that the Sibyl is himself a testimony to the early prevalence of the opinion which regarded the Book of Daniel as a genuine prophetic writing[2].

The questions then arise: how and when was this imitation produced? On the hypothesis of the Book of Daniel being a Palestinian work of the Antiochian era, how came it to have suggested ideas to an Alexandrian? Would an Egyptian Jew have been familiar with the views of a work written at Jerusalem some thirty years previously; and if familiar with them, would he have endorsed them? The difficulty has been met by the following theory. To M. Nicolas[3], the Sibylline Book, the 2 Maccabees, the Book of Enoch, and the 4th of Esdras, indicate the existence of a Palestinian party in the midst of the Jews of Egypt. The members of this party, at no time numerous, he believes to have been the descendants of the priestly families attracted to Alexandria by Onias about the middle of the second century B.C. The last three books mentioned are apocalyptic in character: and this feature joins them to the literature and conceptions of Palestine, while it severs them from those of Alexandria. They embody ideas foreign to the theosophy of the Alexandrian Jews. Though founded upon the Book of Daniel as their model, they—and especially the 4th of Esdras—exhibit a spiritualism absent from true Palestinian apo-

[1] Zündel, p. 134 sq. Nicolas, pp. 141, 292. I do not consider it necessary to prove that the Book of Daniel has suggested much to other Apocryphal works; but the point has been fully argued as regards the 4th of Esdras, for instance, by Volkmar and Ewald in their treatises on that book. Cf. for a few condensed remarks on this subject, Zündel, p. 137.

[2] p. 82. Cf. also, p. 13.

[3] p. 141.

calypse: a difference evidencing the fact that the Pharisaic spirit was unable to maintain an integral existence when brought into contact with Hellenistic philosophy.

But this theory, however ingenious, is quite insufficient to account for all the phenomena deduced from close comparison between Daniel and the Sibyl: and it is totally unsupported. Imitation on the part of the Sibyllist there undoubtedly is, but it is not that of a servile copyist; it is rather that of an artist who has drawn his inspiration from some venerable model, and worked up his subject after his own fashion, and in accordance with his own notions as to its treatment. Over against the imitation must always be set differences between the two books both in form and in contents; differences, graphically and powerfully marked, which necessitate an interval between the Book of Daniel and the Sibyl greater by far than 30 or even 300 years. The imitation discernible might have happened to either an Alexandrian or Palestinian writer, who copied some model of antiquity; but the manifest differences could only have been possible to authors succeeding one another after a lapse of many centuries, and separated one from the other by the vital distinctions of ancient Hebraism and modern Alexandrianism.

First, as to *form*[1]. The Sibyllist assumes and appropriates a heathen dress. The revelation claimed is not communicated externally through dreams and supernatural appearances, as with Daniel; it appears rather to spring from some internal constraint supposed prophetic. The Sibyllist claims to be the bearer of the divine infallible spirit. Common to both is a pictorial elucidation of things; but where Daniel employs symbolism, the Sibyl prefers enigma. In Daniel, the seer is conscious of his vision. Not so the Sibyl; his state is ecstatic in accordance with conventional tradition. Daniel is a devout Israelite, whose

[1] Hilgenf. p. 81 sq. Zündel, p. 165 sq.

name Ezekiel has certified to have been generally known in the Chaldæan exile, and whose history, inseparably interwoven with his prophecies, had been handed down for the edification of posterity. The Sibyl is one whose existence defies historic control. He dates himself in the most venerable antiquity, not only of Israel but of all people,—the period of the Flood. He veils his person in apocryphal darkness, and disavows any confidence either in himself or his calling[1].

Next, as to *contents:* Daniel's prophecy starts, as do all the earlier prophets, from a definite historical situation,—the rise of the first great world-power in Chaldæa. It embraces the period of heathen supremacy over Israel—the period of 70 weeks. The four world-powers pass before him, taking their origin in historic ground,—the times of Nebuchadnezzar; and of these the last engages in war against the God of Heaven and His Holy Ones. The future of the prophecy extends to the entry of an eternal and heavenly kingdom brought in by the Messiah, descending in the clouds of heaven, at a time of dire oppression. On the other hand, the Seleucid-Jewish Sibyl has neither prophetic situation nor similar Eschatology. His past ranges over the entire field of the history of the world. In his present, Hellenism appears as the head and loftiest blossom of heathendom: the Romans are singled out as that Gentile power whose destruction is to precede the advent of the Messiah. In his future, Judaism triumphs over heathendom, the Gentile turns to the true God, and Monotheism becomes the religion of the world.

The principal object of the Sibyl is, undoubtedly, to solve the vital question of later Judaism[2]; how and when the long dominion of the Gentile over the people of God should cease; but the circle of his conceptions is ex-

[1] ver. 804–5. *καὶ καλέουσι βροτοὶ με...ἀναίδεα, ψευστείραν μαινομένην.*

[2] What Hilgenfeld calls the 'Lebensfrage der spätern Judenthums,' p. 82.

ternally and internally far more comprehensive than those of Daniel. While to the canonical prophet, Israel delivered from the Nabonassarian dynasty and himself from the tyranny of Nebuchadnezzar, are real proofs that as a matter of fact salvation will eventually appear, and the recognised opposition between the pagan and the chosen people of God terminate in the triumph of the latter; the Sibyl goes back to the mythical wars of the Titans and the sons of Kronos, and to the severance of nations at the building of Babel, there to find opposition parallel to that between Judaism and Gentilism. While, again, the how and the when of that future triumph are, according to Daniel, reserved in the power of God, to the Sibyl they are but a mere question of dogma; he solves them by converting the heathen into Jews.

This difference is not merely one of degree[1], but, as Zündel[2] has admirably pointed out, one of principle. Neither of Rome nor of Greece, as such, was Daniel thinking. Those kingdoms were to him representatives only of a natural and God-defying principle—the world-power. This, the subject alike of his sacred history and prophecy, is the unique, distinctive, penetrating idea in Daniel. He never permits it to lose integrity or distinctness through decomposition into political conceptions. His work is not a pictorial history of the world. Its gravitating point lies in the description of the end of the world-power—the time of internal developement, yet of internal weakness against the kingdom of God. Hence his four representations do not correspond in their inner reality to the external empirical histories of the world. They do not take their rise with the history of nations, while they extend far beyond the present. They form a compact numeral of four, not copied from the history of the world, but exhibiting natural and indissoluble connection. To this day researches into history still leave them undetermined; as full of the

[1] Hilgenfeld, pp. 55 sq., 61. [2] pp. 168 sq.

secrets of the higher supernatural truth as a hieroglyphic. The Sibyl has no such creative prophetic spirit; nothing original or peculiar. His work is a thoroughly Alexandrian compilation, consisting of thoughts drawn indiscriminately from external sources, sacred prophecy, and the heathen classics. His scarcely-concealed object of raising Judaism to the position of the world's religion is after all but an evolution of the Divine plan of salvation, that 'in Abraham all nations of the earth should be blessed.' It is a thought running like a golden thread through the whole tissue of prophecy, brought out in highest historical relief in the pages of Daniel, and realized in Christianity. By the Sibyl the promise is spiritualized as a religious doctrine, and materialized as a political tenet; and between these two as poles he oscillates perpetually[1]. Once more: the Sibyl proclaims to the heathen a conception of the Deity spiritualized and akin to that of the writings of Philo[2]: of the God of sacred history such as Daniel describes Him but few traces are to be found. The difference is important for many reasons. The terminology expressive of God forms one of the most striking features of the books of the Old Testament. In them He is One who is from everlasting, an 'Ancient of days;' Omnipotent, Omniscient, Creator, and Protector of all. His power knows no restriction: His wisdom no limit. A moral and personal character is allotted to Him: His metaphysical attributes being passed over in devotional silence. Anthropomorphic images and expressions permeate the sacred history of the Jewish people, and repeat themselves in the visions of the prophets from Moses to Zechariah. The conception of a God surrounded by His celestial council, dimly shadowed and understood, rather than expressed, in the earliest records (Gen. iii. 22; xi. 5—7), finds a clear recognition at the hands of Micaiah (1 Kings xxii. 19), as more than a century later

[1] Zündel, p. 169.

[2] Franck, *Études*, p. 109. Nicolas, p. 145.

it blessed the vision of Isaiah (vi. 1). Later still it received the particular yet reverential description vouchsafed to the Prophets of the Captivity (Ezek. i. 26—8; Dan. vii. 9, 13, 22). The reason for this cannot be mistaken. Anthropomorphism spoke a language intelligible to disobedient and unlettered men—the language of sense and imagination. Human representations, human expressions, were permitted to typify and depict Divine Majesty; and by their aid the soul was elevated to supernal heights, and addressed in words eloquent with Divine power. It would be difficult to conceive a mode more sublime in itself, or better calculated by its construction, to acquaint the world with the existence of a Creator.

It was the act of a revolutionary or transition-period to suspend this system. When reflection took the place of inspiration, and didactic teaching usurped the prerogative of prophecy, the use of figurative expressions ceased. The death-knell of anthropomorphism was sounded alike from Palestine and Alexandria, though the execution of the sentence was more rapid, more thorough, in the liberal metropolis of Hellenism than in the conservative schools of Jerusalem. Elimination of theophany and anthropomorphic conceptions generally, has been called the especial task of the writers of the LXX.[1] Whatever appeared derogatory to the Divine nature, whatever trenched too familiarly, too definitely, upon the secrecy, the ineffableness, of an Infinite Being was explained as an element of vision or symbol. One, for instance, who is called the Word, the Eternal Reason, acts in the place and with the attributes of the God of Gods both in the history of creation and the history of the creature. This revolution in ideas can cause no surprise in the case of a people brought into contact with Greek philosophy[2]. Plato, the Stoic, and the leaders of the different schools of Greece had long set the

[1] Franck, *Études*, pp. 290-1.

[2] Nicolas, pp. 150, 161.

example of explaining divine things allegorically, and encouraged the practice of giving to them a philosophical sense. Aristobulus and Philo followed in the wake of these guides; and certainly the influence of their teaching affected the writers of the LXX. negatively, if it did not lead them to the same positive and systematic results. To the Alexandrian Jew the new system of exegesis was the result of a spiritualism brought to bear upon the nature of God. The Jew of Palestine did not, it would seem, find the same difficulty as his Egyptian co-religionist in admitting anthropomorphism or anthropopathy[1]. Theophany alone seemed to interfere with his view of the doctrine of the invisibility and spirituality of God. To deny it was to reject the authority of the Sacred Books; and yet to affirm it as it stood in the original texts was altogether fatal to the current system of Rabbinic exposition. He compromised his difficulty. It was not God Himself, he said, who had appeared to Moses and the Patriarchs, but a Divine virtue, a substantial manifestation of the Almighty. Sometimes it was His glory (יקרא), sometimes His Word (מימרא), sometimes His Shechinah (שכינא)[2].

The Sibyl does not fail to exhibit traces of the spiritualising leaven at work around him[3]. His conception of God deviates from that of Daniel and approximates to that of the LXX, without reaching the developement of Philo. The God of the Alexandrian philosopher is a Being without quality, incapable of human representation. To apply to the Immortal qualifications usually descriptive of mortality is resented as degradation. It is best to say

[1] Nicolas, pp. 152–3. Traces of this are frequent in Ecclesiasticus. Baruch furnishes some examples in ii. 16 7, iii. 5; and this is not without its interest when the imitation of Daniel by Baruch is remembered.

[2] For instances of this v. Buxtorf, *Lex. Rabb.* s. vv.; Nicolas, pp. 156–7, notes; Franck, *La Kabb.* pp. 67–9.

[3] Nicolas, pp. 160 sq.

of Him that He exists, without defining what He is. Better than Good, anterior to and purer than Unity, God is seen and contemplated only by Himself. 'I am that I am,' He saith of Himself: 'it is,' adds Philo, 'as if He had said, My essence is to exist and not to be described.' He is the Being who hath no name; His nature evades definition. To the Sibyllist and the Greek translator of Leviticus, xxv. 15, 16, His name is equally veiled in the profoundest mystery; to divulge it would be criminal[1].

Accompanying this spiritualizing tendency, is the disposition to materialize historic prophecy on the part of the Sibyl[2]. He knows nothing of the secret of Daniel's delineation of the world, his prophetic fundamental thought, the antagonism of the kingdom of God to the world-power. He simply copies the empiric history of the world, extending the number of powers from four to eight[3]. Egypt, Persia, Media, Ethiopia, Babylonia, Egypt again and Rome pass in turn across the field of vision, suggestive of the model from which they are imitated, yet separated from it by self-evident differences of treatment.

Equally distinct and peculiar are the Sibyl's eschatological conceptions[4]. In the Book of Daniel the gradual developement of the world-power finally concentrates itself, in spite of its ten-fold extension, upon one kingdom and one head antagonistic to God. This falls and perishes through the stone cut without hands. The Prophet knows nothing of a victory for the Jewish religion as such; to him the victory is that of the kingdom of God over the world-power. He is not concerned about a 'religion,' but with the personal appearance of the Son of Man and the Advent of His kingdom[5]. In the Sibylline Book the matter is treated with reference to the political and physical destruction of the lands of Europe and Asia enumerated

[1] Nicolas, p. 166, n. 2.
[2] Zündel, p. 170.
[3] Ewald, p. 10, n. 2.
[4] Zündel, p. 170.
[5] Id. p. 151.

geographically and ethnographically. To the pseudo-mantic mind, heathen idolatry, immorality, and sacrilege in the destruction of the Temple, are the causes productive of punishment; not as with Daniel, the positive God-hating disposition[1]. The treasured promise of the return of all people of the Gentiles to the hill of Zion (Isai. ii. Micah iv.); the expectation of Daniel that the Ancient of Days shall give to the Son of Man power, honour, and kingdom; the Prophet's belief that all nations and tongues should serve Him (vii. 14);—these are diluted by the Sibyl into a conversion of the Greeks to the Jewish temple-worship. And thus to represent Jewish monotheism as the religion of the world, betokens nothing less than the deepest fall from the sacred, objective, and universal knowledge of true prophecy into Alexandrian subjectivity.

The subject of the Messianic conceptions is marked by similar contrasts both of difference and imitation. The Alexandrian writer had to impress these expectations upon his Hellenistic fellow-countrymen too readily disposed to let them fall into oblivion[2]. At the same time he sought to interest and propitiate by their help the Greek masters of the chosen people. He secured the attention of the foreigner by the assumption of the Sibylline character, and enlisted the sympathies of his co-religionists by a series of representations altogether remodelled and spiritualised in comparison with the portraiture of the Book of Daniel or the apocryphal Book of Enoch. Retaining the fundamental belief that the wickedness of man is to endure till the dawn of Messianic deliverance, the Sibyl described the Messiah as a King sent by God from the sun. He comes to put an end to war, and to judge with blood and burning fire[3]. This is not done in deference to His own judgment, but in obedience to the com-

[1] Zündel, p. 157. [2] Ewald, pp. 23–4.

[3] V. reff. in Ewald, p. 32. n. Zündel, p. 163. The 'blood' according to Zechar. ix. 13–5: the 'fire' according to Isai. i. 31, iv. 4.

mands of the Great God. Some He kills: some He approves: the chosen people especially are loaded with riches, gold, silver, and purple clothing. It is impossible to deny either the imitation, or the difference between this and the seventh chapter of the Book of Daniel[1].

Such are some of the contrasts observable in these writers. They lead to this certain result;—the impossibility of supposing Daniel and the Sibyl contemporaneous. But united to other facts, they may be said to do more.

It is the device of some to reckon the Canonical work a 'primus inter pares,' an uninspired model of Apocalyptic literature undoubtedly apocryphal. The priority of the Book of Daniel is thus admitted. The laws of criticism require it. But the concession is in reality nullified by the determination not to carry back that priority later than the Seleucidan era. There is one very simple answer to this which will have weight with some minds more than with others. Were Daniel's work avowedly and notoriously spurious, it would never have been quoted as authentic Scripture by the Founder of Christianity; it would never have influenced, so largely as it has done, the thoughts and diction of the writers of the New Testament[2]. It would have shared the fate of the other Apocrypha and sunk into oblivion, or flashed momentarily across the page of later records, like the Book of Enoch in the Epistle of S. Jude. That it did not so perish, that its light has endured long after that of the others has paled, is a proof of its value and inspiration in the sight of those best qualified to decide. But there are other reasons against this supposition.

One of the most noteworthy features in the pages of this Sibyl, is the frequent use and imitation of prophetic writings. There are numerous citations and recollections

[1] Bleek (*Schleierm. Theol. Zeitschr.* Heft 1. p. 232 sq. and *Jahrb.* p. 58) prefers to consider both the Sibylline passage and the description of Daniel imitated from Isai. xlv. 1. Hilgenf. (p. 64) finds the source in Ezek. xxxiv. 23.

[2] Zündel, p. 135. I shall return to this presently.

of Joel, Isaiah, Zechariah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel[1]. It is evident that the spirit of ancient prophecy was wooed by him with the most faithful assiduity. The real song of inspiration had ceased; but the Sibyl perused the pages and listened to the echoes of the past, adapting and setting to his own measure snatches of their divine and exquisite melody. One prophet suggested another. Jeremiah, Ezekiel; and Ezekiel, Daniel: and in these last especially, in their symbolism, and visions, he recognised thoughts congenial to his own, and befitting the character he had assumed[2]. It is therefore a most valuable fact that to one of the most ancient of Apocalyptic writers the Book of Daniel stands in the light of a truly prophetic work. It claims and receives from him dignity and authenticity co-equal with that accorded to the writings of the other prophets. Certainly, an Alexandrian Sibyl would never have taken, by choice, a Palestinian apocryphal work of his own age, and palmed it off upon himself or others as a work of antiquity. Nationality, and theological differences, were sufficiently strong to render this improbable, if not impossible.

Were a verdict then to be pronounced upon the facts elucidated in the preceding paragraphs, it would be, I humbly venture to think, that the Book of Daniel passes from the judgment bar of criticism with pedigree unsullied and unimpaired. Mazdeism and Judaism, the witnesses brought against it, point to the same conclusion; but it is not the conclusion apprehended. They unite in referring the work of the prophet, not to the Maccabæan, but to the Babylonian period. Not for one moment does this result repudiate the peculiar character of the prophetic sections: it declines only

[1] Hilgenf. p. 82. n. 1; Zündel, p. 138.

[2] Comp. for the special use of Ezekiel, Hilg. pp. 64, n. 3, 65, n. 2, 76, nn. 1, 3; Friedlieb. *Einl* p. xxxiii.: of Daniel, comp. int. al. the Sibyll. adaptation of Daniel's prophecy of the 10 horns; Hilg. pp. 68-9. Nicolas, pp. 273-4; Zündel, 141 sq.; Ewald, p. 14.

to recognise the modern explanation of that peculiarity. Once again, let it be affirmed that the symbolism, and the apocalyptic element of the Book of Daniel, are thoroughly peculiar. The work exhibits features which it is impossible to ignore, and dishonest to deny. I assert only that neither in degree nor in delineation are these features so distinct from those of the Canonical Prophets, or so tinged by extraneous colouring, as to constitute either unauthentic or modern the work containing them.

The old question then returns: Whence were these features derived? What adequate solution can be offered for them? External agencies alone are manifestly insufficient for the developement observed; what else is at hand to explain it? I answer, Inspiration. The solution propounded by human reason has been tried in the balance and found—not wanting, but indicating what it was not expected to indicate, the true ring and weight of the work impugned. Necessarily this result points beyond itself. It leaves the mind free to ascend higher for the source of so much that is mysterious. And there an answer is obtained; the only answer satisfactory to the mind of the Church, *because* the only answer uncontradicted by reason and criticism:—the main developement of the Book of Daniel was due to the agency of God's Holy Spirit. In a few words I would endeavour to establish this truth.

The revelations communicated by God to His Prophets have been reduced to two classes[1]. They were either communications made when the action of the external senses was suspended, and there was no consciousness of passing events; or they were communications made in the natural

[1] In the construction of these paragraphs I willingly plead guilty to a wholesale reproduction of Dr Lee's thoughts and language. It was the perusal of his pages, and the study of his references, which endued for me with life the dry bones of a very abstruse subject. The whole question is worked up by him with a logical precision, adorned by a simplicity of narration, which I could not hope to attain by any independent effort.

waking state, when the Prophet was conscious of all that took place around him. The Prophet Daniel is a remarkable illustration of the former class. In his pages the action of the outward senses is seen to be suspended; and the human soul, like a pure mirror undimmed by any fault or stain, receives and reflects the beams of Divine truth presented to it[1]. Of the revelations vouchsafed to him, some were conveyed in dreams, others in ecstatic visions. In the dream[2], the action of the senses was suspended by purely natural causes, and the Divine communication transmitted by the aid of one of the most ordinary of natural facts. In the state of ecstasy the suspension of the faculties was produced by the sublime and overpowering character of the conceptions infused into the mind, or by the direct operation of the Divine energy, or by both combined. Daniel's personal state in the ecstatic condition is fully depicted. He was in a 'deep sleep (נרדמתי, viii. 18, x. 9), the face toward the ground,' when the Angel spoke and the voice was heard 'like to the voice of a multitude.' The Angel touched him, raised him, and strengthened him; and then ensued the communication (viii. 19—26, x. 11—21). The revelation ended, a reaction followed. 'He fainted and was sick certain days[3]' (viii. 27, cf. vii. 28, x. 16). These characteristics of the ecstatic state are unquestionably peculiar, but they are not for that reason less real. 'Ignorance of the manner according to which

[1] S. Basil, *Comm. in Esai. Procem.* § 3. Vol. I. p. 379, quoted by Lee, *On Inspiration*, p. 173. n. 1.

[2] S. Thom. Aquin. attaches a caution to this class of communication which should not be forgotten. 'Si cui fiat divinitus repræsentatio aliquarum rerum per similitudines imaginarias, ut Pharaoni et Nebuchodonosor, aut etiam per similitudines corporales, ut Balthassar, non est talis censendus Propheta, nisi illuminetur ejus mens ad judicandum.' *Summ. Theol.* 2da Pars, Quæst. clxxiii. art. 3. (Lee, id. n. 2).

[3] S. Greg. the Great makes the following beautiful remark: 'Daniel sublinem visionem videns per plurimos dies elanguit et ægrotavit, quia hi qui in virtutibus fortes sunt, quum altiora Dei conspiciunt, in sua sibimet æstimatione, infirmi atque imbecilles fiunt.' (*Homil.* VIII. *in Ezek.* I. 25, p. 861 b, ed. Migne.)

God acted directly upon the mind of the Prophet will no doubt always continue, but this no more affects the reality of such operations than our ignorance of the *modus operandi* in the world of nature affects the reality of the operations of God in it[1].' The fact stands out well supported and attested, that certain immediate suggestions were conveyed to the soul of the Prophet while in a state of trance or ecstasy. It were a deeper wisdom to seek to discover the mode in which they were received and appropriated, than to question the Divine possibility of the fact.

'Ecstasis mentis excessus est,' said S. Augustine[2]; or, as a greater than S. Augustine expressed it, 'whether in the body or out of the body' at such a moment he 'could not tell[3].' The wonted succession of ideas and the ordinary current of thought were evidently suspended by the infusion of spiritual influence. In Dreams and Ecstasy imagination alone was active. The activity of the outward senses passed into repose, the entire vital energy was concentrated on the world within; and the forms or symbols created by imagination were presented to the spiritual vision of the Prophet according to the laws of nature. The vision was thus the result of ecstasy[4]. New ideas and conceptions were created to convey to the soul the mysteries of God and the revelations of things unseen, so far as God was pleased to reveal them. These assumed certain forms or were embodied in certain shapes, that they might be apprehended by the limited powers of man. Symbolic actions and symbolic visions aided in the furtherance of the Divine act of condescension. When the ideas, divinely infused into the Prophet's mind, related to things

[1] Lee, p. 175. He justly protests against the following strange logic of Knobel and his school. Prophetic visions cannot have taken place as described '*because* most of them are described so circumstantially and diffusely, and withal so clearly, accurately, and perfectly, that they cannot possibly have been so seen.' *Der Prophetism. d. Hebräer.* Part I. p. 170.

[2] *Enarr. in Ps.* xxxiv. [3] 2 Cor. xii. 2. [4] Lee, p. 176 sq.

surpassing the bounds of human experience, ordinary language failed to convey to others what was thus revealed. Representations or symbols conformable to those ideas were consequently moulded, as it were, for the occasion: the imagination became *productive*. The symbolism of Ezekiel is an instance in point. But there were occasions on which the ideas supplied to the Prophet's mind were in some measure related to the world of sense: and here the symbol corresponded to the forms which such ideas actually represented. In this case the imagination was regarded as *reproductive*[1]. The 'stone cut without hands,' the tree and its stump, the one-horned goat, are instances of this in the Book of Daniel. The power of the 'Prince of princes' was to be mighty as the unquarried marble; the impotence of the imperial tyrant fragile like the broken stump of a once proud monarch of the forest; the force of the 'King of Grecia' dependent for its duration on the unity and concentration of its parts. The means employed for rendering the imagination active were thus strictly natural, though the conceptions themselves were not spontaneous, but due to Divine revelation. The Holy Spirit guided the imagination while it clothed them with appropriate symbols. The source and the phenomena of symbolism are evidences of this.

It requires no great penetration to discover the human side of the Prophetic symbolism in the scenes and circumstances surrounding the Prophets. The objects and relations with which they and their people were familiar would naturally be those best adapted for the transmission of unfamiliar truths. This is notably the case with the Prophets of the captivity. Their symbolism, their imagery, differ from those of the Prophets preceding them, though evoked, like theirs, from the objects encompassing them.

[1] Knobel, p. 158. Lee, p. 178.

'The forms chosen by Ezekiel,' says a modern traveller[1], 'the man, the lion, the bull, and the eagle, are precisely those which are constantly found on Assyrian monuments as religious types. As the Prophet had beheld the Assyrian palaces, with their mysterious images and gorgeous decorations, it is highly probable that when seeking to typify *certain divine attributes*, and to describe the divine glory, he chose forms that were not only familiar to him but to the people whom he addressed.' The same may be said of Daniel. The gorgeous colossal symbolism of Chaldæa is reflected at every page. It was Eichhorn's[2] own admission that the Book of Daniel opens up an entirely new world, the reflection not of Palestine but of scenes altogether different: and the share of Chaldæan art in colouring the predictions of Daniel is at once apparent when his own visions are compared with the form assumed by the dreams of Nebuchadnezzar (ii. iv.). The opinion of M. Raoul Rochette, already quoted[3], but asserts for the Book of Daniel a similar conclusion to that claimed for the Book of Ezekiel.

The phenomena of symbolism thus replete with evidences of natural means divinely guided[4], necessarily discover themselves in one direction more frequently than in another. For example, the character and diction of the historical chapters of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Daniel, differ from the prophetic sections depicting their visions. The reason is this. In the case of visions the imaginative faculty is especially exercised; and consequently in writings descriptive of these visions poetic language and poetic imagery predominate. 'The treasures of the unseen are poured forth in all the riches of the visible. The jewels

[1] Layard, *Nineveh*, Vol. II. p. 464 (1849); and so Ravenshaw, *Journ. of Roy. Asiat. Soc.* Vol. XVI. p. 93 sq. (1853).

[2] Quoted by Lee, p. 183, n. 1, from Hävernick, *Comm. üb. d. B. Daniel. Einl.* p. xxxiv.

[3] p. 205.

[4] Lee, p. 180.

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of earth, the stars of heaven, seas, fountains, rivers, mountains, and hills—every object of creation, visible and invisible—all are blended in the sublime poetry of the Prophets. In it is interwoven all that can stir the imagination of man; armies and their array, the battle and the siege:—all that is terrible and imposing in nature; the dragon and the beast, the lion and the eagle:—all that is brightest and fairest of the objects we behold; the rainbow and the morning star.' Prophetic language embodies a quickening and yet changeful power like to 'the rapidity of the eagle's wing over earth, heaven, and sea, with plumage catching the varied light without end[1].'

Undoubtedly the individual genius, character, and education, of the Prophets affected the language and style of each, but that was not all. Much is to be attributed to the manner in which they received the Divine revelation[2]. 'In Hosea imagination seems inexhaustible, and picture follows picture without pause or stay. Habakkuk rejects ordinary rules, and is hurried away into varied and lofty imagery; observing withal purity of taste and unity of design. The shepherd Amos still wanders in his pastures; his imagination lingers with his flock and dwells on the culture of his fields; he takes his similitudes from the mildew that blights the vineyard, or the lion that invades the fold. If the Prophet has been of sacerdotal race, the different features of the Theocracy—the Temple and the Altar, the Ark and the Cherubim—float before his view as in the writings of Jeremiah and Ezekiel.' And so with the courtier Daniel. Familiar with the kingdoms of Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, and Cyrus, their pride and their perishableness, their colossal proportions and their intrinsic weakness, their gilded exterior and their inward corruption;—accustomed to gaze upon the wall-pictures of Babylon and Susa, frescoes reproducing figures

[1] Lee, and Isaac Williams, *The Apocalypse*, Pref. p. vii.

[2] Lee, p. 181.

half-human, half-bestial, hideous yet emblematic, grotesque yet commemorative of deeds and attributes of power;—he recalls in his dreams and visions the scenes and objects of which his waking hours were cognisant. And whence shall this idiosyncrasy be derived? Shall it all be of earth, earthy? Not if the noble words of S. Gregory[1] have at all touched the true reply. 'Ecce apertis eisdem oculis fidei David, Amos, Danielem, Petrum, Paulum, Matthæum intueor, et Sanctus iste Spiritus qualis sit artifex considerare volo, sed in ipsa mea consideratione deficio. Implet namque citharœdum puerum, et Psalmistam facit (1 Sam. xvi. 18 sq.). Implet pastorem armentarium sycomoros vellicantem, et Prophetam facit (Amos vii. 14). Implet abstinentem puerum et judicem senum facit (Dan. xiii. 46 sq.)[2]. Implet piscatorem et Prædicatorem facit (S. Matt. iv. 19). Implet persecutorem et doctorem Gentium facit (Acts ix. 1 sq.). Implet publicanum et Evangelistam facit (S. Luke v. 27—8). O qualis est artifex iste Spiritus! Nulla ad discendum mora agitur in omne quod voluerit. Mox ut tetigerit mentem, docet; solumque tetigisse docuisse est. Nam humanum animum subito ut illustrat, immutat; abnegat hunc repente quod erat, exhibet repente quod non erat.'

One or two objections, already cursorily mentioned, still remain to be noticed. They are those raised against the angelology, and the ethical positions of the Book[3].

[1] S. Greg. Mag. *Hom.* XXX. *in Johann.* XIV. 23–31. (*Op.* Vol. II. p. 1225, ed. Migne). Lee traces this passage to a similar expression of opinion by S. Greg. Nazianz. p. 181, n. 3 (end). At the risk of the charge of affectation, I prefer to reproduce in its original form a passage too perfect to permit either mutilation or dilution by the process of translation.

[2] The reference is to the Apocryph. addition, but i. 10, ii. 27–8 are instances fully to the point.

[3] Hilgenfeld, p. 44. Davidson, III. p. 178.

The angelology, it is said, points to a time when Judaism had replaced Hebraism, and to sources decidedly Persian. Peculiar names are given to the angels; separate countries are put under their protection; and these 'definite distinctions did not appear among the Israelites before the Persian period, when they came in contact with the adherents of Magianism.' The 'peculiarity' of the angelology may be confessed, but I venture to assert the deduction as to its late origin altogether unwarranted and unnecessary.

The antiquity of the belief in angels is not now disputed[1]. The foundation of the doctrine is recognised as laid in times far anterior to the captivity of Babylon. The Hebrews had, from the earliest ages, been taught and accustomed themselves to believe in beings of a nature superior to man, messengers of the Most High, executants of His orders. Moses, it is true, gave no precise idea of their nature, nor of the rank they occupied in creation. He did not stop to describe and draw out the distinctions between good and bad angels. It is not till later that a definiteness and precision are attained, unrecorded—though not perhaps unrecognised—by the legislator of Israel. In this developement the Prophet Daniel stands conspicuous. In his pages may be discerned the rudiments of the angelological conceptions so extensively permeating the writings of later Judaism. To him may be traced a more distinct, more physical expression of the attributes of the heavenly messengers. They are no longer agents of the Deity generally, but are classed categorically. Each has his special department, each his special functions. The chiefs, those whose part is the most active, are designated by proper names. The Books of Tobit and the 4th of Esdras carried these conceptions further. They developed angelology into a system, and the heavenly host became in their hands an organised militia.

[1] Cf. int. al. Franck, *Études*, &c. p. 288. Nicolas, pp. 216, 228.

What then, it is asked, was the external cause of this developement? When was it first exhibited? Not, it is answered, till some two centuries before the Christian era, and then through contact with the Persian doctrine of the pure beings who surround the throne of Ormazd. The answer is insufficient. It only partly explains the features of even later Judaistic Apocrypha, and certainly fails to account for all the phenomena of the Book of Daniel. Babylonia, as well as Persia, had a share in framing the outer casing for the truths the Prophet was commissioned to inculcate: and as regards the date, Mazdeistic contagion was—if necessary for the origination of Daniel's angelology—quite possible long before an age so comparatively modern as the Maccabæan.

A few words will sum up the angelological teaching of the Book of Daniel[1]. Personal appellations are there first assigned to the 'ministering spirits' of the Hebrew Church. Two, named by him Gabriel and Michael, are represented as among the chiefs of the celestial hierarchy (השרים הראשנים x. 13), and agents of God in behalf of man. This kind of nomenclature speedily became contagious. The Book of Tobit presently added a third, Raphael, and the 4th of Esdras three more, Uriel, Sealthiel and Jeremiel[2]. Again; in Daniel the angels appear as guardians of nations. They espouse the cause of the people entrusted to them and fight their battles. 'The prince of the kingdom of Persia,' said the Holy Being who appeared to the Prophet on the banks of the Hiddekel, 'withstood me one and twenty days; but lo! Michael, one of the chief princes, came to help me...

[1] Cf. Hardwick, II. p. 419.

[2] In the Kabbala, these three are Zaphkiel, Zadkiel, and Gamaliel; in other Rabbinical writings, Sealthiel, Jehudiel, and Barachiel; and in a MS. of the Sibylline oracles Jeremiel, Saniel, and Azael. These differences show that the theory upon the princes or chiefs of the angels was for a long time floating and uncertain. (Nic. p. 222).

Now will I return to fight with the prince of Persia' (x. 13, 20). Daniel sees also in his visions 'the watchers and holy one come down from heaven:' the judgment passed upon Nebuchadnezzar is a 'matter by the decree of the watchers, and the demand by the word of the holy ones' (iv. 13, 17, 20). In this can Daniel be, as regards the doctrine of the 'watchers,' a mere borrower from the Amshashpands of the Zend Avesta[1]? and as regards the doctrine of guardian angels, only the echo of a popular opinion[2]? It is possible, but not probable. The loan was so far possible that contemporaneous thought was capable of supplying it, but improbable for many reasons. And the 'echo' was possible, if believed to have reverberated from the ante-Babylonian writings, but not probable if any meaning or power be attached to inspiration. But both echo and loan are maintained upon insufficient if not faulty grounds.

It is stipulated by criticism that the external features of Daniel's angelology must have been due to the time and scenes in which the writer actually lived, or pretended to have lived. Now there is ample proof that the Chaldæan mythology and the Mazdeism of the age of the Captivity could have supplied every distinctive feature of Daniel's framework. Fusion with foreign systems upon this subject must at all times have been easy. The angelology of the Hebrew, affirming only the existence of beings superior to man without discussing in precise terms their nature and qualities, offered no resistance to closer definition. It was stipulated only that such definition should emanate from religious principles analogous to those of the ancient faith, or amenable to the moulding touch of Hebraism. The learned Jew of the Exile met with novel phases of the belief in the creed of the sensuous Babylonian and

[1] Davidson, III. p. 178. It is the old statement of De Wette and Strauss vid. Mill, *On the Mythical Interpretation, &c.* p. 127.

[2] Nicolas, p. 224.

the Persian purist successively. The angelology of Babylonia presented, it is true, but little that was worthy of imitation, and still less that was likely to be imitated; yet it existed as a tenet common to the Semitic race, and fructifying readily, however diversely, in Semitic minds. The whole train of good and bad angels was a dogma consecrated by the dualistic spirit of Chaldæa, and pictured on the walls of her temples. The 'watchers' and 'holy ones' which peopled the vision of Nebuchadnezzar were recognised with awe but without astonishment. They were celestial visitors, excelling by their purified beauty the gross forms with which his waking life was familiar. The Mazdean doctrine of pure spirits was far more attractive. It had that religious and moral character which would induce the Jew to consider it a developement of his own angelological belief, and a complete portrait of that of which he had as yet sketched the outline only. It has been said, indeed, that an acquaintance with the Amshashpands, the Fervers, &c. of the Mazdean system could not have been possible so early. The opinion will admit of rectification. Centuries before the times in question, names were current[1] which ultimately became the designations of the Persian archangels. These 'best beings,' these 'wise living spirits,' were Vohu manô (the good mind), Asha Vahista (the best truth), Khshathra Vairya (wealth), Çpenta Armaiti (white or holy devotion), Haurvatât (wholesomeness), and Ameretât (immortality[2]). The etymology and the context prove them to have been, in that remote antiquity, nothing but abstract nouns and ideas representing the gifts which Ahuramazda, as the only Lord, granted to those who worshipped

[1] In the *Gâtha Ahunavaiti. Yaç.* XLVII. 1. Haug, pp. 143, 260. Spiegel, *Avesta*, III. p. viii sq.

[2] They are preserved in modern Parsee compositions under the forms of Bahman, Ardibehesht, Shahravar, Isfandarmat, Khordâd and Amerdât. Spiegel (*Av.* III. p. lii sq.) gives quotations from some of these works.

him sincerely[1]. The Yaçna Haptanhaiti, a work composed by one of the earliest successors of Zoroaster, and occupying a place between the older Gâthas and the younger Yaçna[2], presents this and other features of the Zoroastrian religion in a somewhat developed state. 'The high philosophical ideas laid down in Zarathustra's own songs were partially abandoned, partially *personified:* the theological, moral and philosophical doctrines gave way to the custom which has remained up to this time, of addressing prayers to all beings of the good nature, irrespective of their being mere abstract nouns.' The name 'Amesha Spenta' (Amshashpand), the general term for the highest angels, is first met with and henceforth retained. The process of developement thus begun was carried a stage farther in the pages of the Vendidad[3]. In that work it is a corollary to the Dualism which sought to supersede Monotheism. Çpento-mainyus and Angro-mainyus, or God and Devil, are now encircled with court and council like terrestrial rulers. The number of councillors was fixed at six, each ruling over the separate provinces of the universe, and subject to the celestial or infernal President.

It was easy to foresee that the Amshashpands of the Persian system would be quoted as the nearest parallels to the archangels of Holy Scripture[4]. And it may perhaps be granted that the 'princes' of the angels of later Judaism were in some measure a reflection of the princes of light surrounding Ormazd[5]. But it is difficult

[1] Spiegel, *Op. Cit.* p. viii. considers this a peculiarity attached to them, and running through the whole of the *Avesta.*

[2] i. e. between 1200 and 800 B. C.; cf. Haug. pp. 162, 224.

[3] *Fargard.* I. Haug, p. 260. Spieg. p. vii.

[4] Hardw. II. p. 422.

[5] Böhmer (*Herzog. R.-Encycl.* Vol. IV. p. 18 sq. s. v. Engel) finds the earthly prototype of the celestial principality in those who 'ever stood before the King' Solomon (1 Kings x. 8). *Seven* of these were selected (Jer. lii. 25) to be taken to Babylon, because this was the number of the Babylonian councillors,

to understand how the parallelism can delegate the Book of Daniel to the same modern era. The preceding paragraphs will have shown that as a mere question of date, it was quite within the circle of sciences open to a Hebrew writer of the Babylonian period to ascertain and reproduce in his pages Persian conceptions upon Amshashpands and Fravashis. And if it be insisted that such traces of reproduction are certainly found in the Book of Daniel, it will require no further explanation than that furnished by Daniel's practice of sifting, examining, and perhaps insensibly appropriating all that was good in the foreign systems which came before him. But—if I may be permitted the expression of an opinion formed solely upon the actual phenomena of comparison—the alleged reproductions are in themselves so slight, so insignificant, as altogether to repudiate the affiliation claimed for them. The conceptions of Daniel, decidedly less elaborate than those of his apocryphal imitators, sever his work from theirs by an interval of centuries. Differences equally remarkable interpose a similarly insuperable barrier to any idea of plagiarism on his part from Mazdean sources. There are indications throughout of independence of origin and treatment, proving, when regarded collectively, the marked distinction recognised by the writer himself between the creed of the Hebrew and the Persian. If there is analogy between them, analogy is not identity; if there is identity, it is not to be explained on the hypothesis that the Jew borrowed from the Persian, or the Persian from the Jew. 'It is far more rational to explain this and similar identities on the hypothesis of a common parentage anterior to the primitive migrations, than to argue, first, that the Hebrews only were left without traditions upon these subjects till comparatively modern times; and se-

and served to represent the *perfect* annihilation of the highest caste. The Septenary division seems to have been common to both Aryan and Semite (Nic. p. 229, n. 2).

condly, that the age in which they finally contracted their belief in such points, was the age when, strangely enough, they are known to have imbibed far stricter tenets on the unity and monarchy of God[1].'

There are many facts supporting and commending this opinion of independence of origin. It is a negative fact of some value that the distinguishing angelological features of the Book of Daniel are found less developed, perhaps, but clearly delineated in the Old Testament writings preceding it. It is a fact which casts additional discredit on the favourite attempt to refer the conceptions of the Prophet to loans from foreign sources. There is nothing in the subordination or gradation of the spirit world recorded by Daniel which is not substantially contained in the Books of Moses and the Prophets[2]. There is no inconsistency, no contradiction between the notions of the angelic hierarchy of the Babylonian Prophet, and those contained in the works current before the time of the captivity. Isaiah's splendid vision (vi.) depicts, nearly two centuries before the Exile, the Almighty surrounded by the six-winged seraphim. These constituted the 'chief princes' of his day, and one of them by issuing forth with a message to Isaiah offers a proof of independent personality. Earlier still, the Prophet Micaiah represents 'the LORD sitting on His throne, and all the host of heaven standing by Him on His right and on His left' (1 Kings xxii. 19—22). Gradation and personality can only be surrendered here with the authenticity of the passage. And further back still, one who is called the 'Captain' or 'Prince (שַׂר) of the host of the LORD,' reveals himself to Joshua as holding a rank of archangelic pre-eminence over the celestial army. What do these instances prove but the affinity between the conception of the ancient Books and that of Daniel; just as this

[1] Hardw. II. p. 417 sq.
[2] Mill. pp. 123-4. Hardw. II. p. 420.

last exhibits doctrine identical with that of Zechariah (i. 10—1, iii. 1, vi. 5, &c.)?

A fact of a more positive character is the philological nature of the names given by Daniel to the angels. It is impossible to approximate them in the slightest degree to the titles of the Persian gods and genii[1]. They are not only Semitic, but of that Semitic form which is distinctively and peculiarly Hebrew as distinguished from Aramaic. They have no relation in thought or grammar with them. The religion of Chaldæa, with its perpetual illustration of dualistic principles, the angelology of Babylonia, with its gross and sensuous expressions[2], furnished nothing, not even a name. It is the same with the Persian creed of the Achæmenian period. To attempt to identify the 'watcher' with the Amshashpand is as etymologically incorrect as it is doctrinally and chronologically unnecessary.

The position which lends foundation to such identification is itself improperly assumed. It must be no longer regarded either as a superfluity or a merely negative action in revelation, if, of the truths originally possessed by all, some should be found kept back or less prominently stated in the peculiar economy of Judaism[3]. In this particular point of angelology, true criticism as well as true wisdom will admit that that which for centuries had existed in the Hebrew creed under a personal form, assumed a yet more perfect distinctness when confronting systems presenting points of similarity, few or many. There is no loss of honour, no detraction, in recognising an assimilation of alien expressions in order to give point to vital truths. On the contrary, such adaptation would exhibit more clearly and more popularly the feeling against idolatrous worship

[1] Vid. p. 323 and note 2.

[2] That angelology existed in Babylonia is inferred by Prof. Chwolsohn from the Rabb. tradition that the names of the angels were brought from there. *Ueber Tammuz, &c.* p. 50, n. 1.

[3] Cf. Mill. p. 129.

generally, and specially against that capital falsehood of Oriental theosophy — the assertion of antagonistic Principles with their cortège of good and bad angels. But the admission by no means imperils the character of the work enunciating and systematizing such distinctness.

The objections to the ethical statements of the Book require in their turn a few remarks.

'The habit of Daniel to pray three times a day, points,' it is said, 'to a time at which religious ideas had penetrated out of India into the neighbouring countries to the West.' 'Exaggerated and excessive notions of the value of prayer' are discovered in the Book, and these, it is alleged, 'betray a later Judaism,' such as 'may have been developed under the influence of Parseeism, a generation or two after the return from Babylon[1].' It causes some surprise to read that the instances of exaggeration are as follows. 'Daniel prays and makes supplication with windows open towards Jerusalem, though he knew that a royal decree was signed condemning any one that did so to be cast into the den of lions. He mourned and fasted three full weeks (x. 2, 3). A secret was revealed to him in answer to prayer (ii. 18). He also abstained from the king's meat and wine as profane, and lived on pulse.' The critic must indeed be hard pushed for supports to his opinion if he has to devise such expedients as these. Any one acquainted with the ample exhortations in the Old Testament to prayer and fasting, will see nothing here but what is strictly in accordance with Hebrew conceptions. The objection might well be dismissed with Davidson's own remark; 'these particularities are not valid arguments in favour of a very recent date.'

[1] Davidson, III. p. 179.

But it may be worth while to shew how thoroughly distinct are Daniel's views from the Mazdean notions alleged to have suggested them. The ancient Persians divided the twenty-four hours into five parts. Corresponding to these were *five* prayers or gâhs said to the angels presiding over each division[1]. As a mere fact therefore the habit of praying *three* times a day did not come to the Jew from Parseeism. It was perhaps his acquaintance with this difference, which led Hilgenfeld[2] to refer the Jewish division of the hours to Ezra and the Great Synagogue. But this opinion is too conjectural to be altogether trustworthy[3]. It rests on grounds as uncertain as those of the tradition which refers the morning prayer to Abraham, the mid-day prayer to Isaac, and the evening prayer to Jacob[4]. Of itself moreover it is unnecessary. Scripture has recorded the practice and the particular number as commonly used for sometime previous to the captivity (Ps. lv. 17). To a devout Jew of the exile, anxious to continue practices suggested by the temple-services, the ninth hour or the hour of evening sacrifice, the third hour or the hour of morning sacrifice, and the sixth hour or noon-day, would readily suggest themselves as hours consecrated by long usage to a forgetfulness of self in the thought of God.

The abstinence recorded in Daniel is also entirely foreign to Persian notions. In the Mazdean creed fasting is strictly forbidden[5]. In his struggle through life with evil,

[1] Gâtha Ustavaiti, *Yaç.* XLIV. 8. Haug, p. 151 and note, 199. Spiegel, *Av.* II. p. xlix. sq. III. pp. xl. 21 sq.

[2] *Jüd. Apok.* p. 45.

[3] Comp. Vitringa *De Synag. Vet.* Vol. I. Lib. I. Part 2, ch. xii. p. 413 sq.

[4] Id. ch. i. p. 278.

[5] Franck, *Études*, p. 105. Spiegel, *Av.* II. p. lviii; in a note he quotes the following from the *Sad-der*, p. xxv. 'Cavendum est tibi a jejunio, nam a mane ad vesperum nihil comedere, non est bonum in religione nostra:' and remarks in the text; 'es begreift sich dieser Widerwille gegen die Selbstpeinungen sehr einfach aus der ganzen Weltanschauung der Parsen, nach der es ebenso wenig verdienstlich sein konnte, *sich* zu quälen als sonst irgend ein Wesen des guten Schöpfung.'

the Zoroastrian was reminded that he required bodily strength as well as mental activity and intelligence, and to weaken the body by self-mortification was not only resented as an outrage against physical perfection, but condemned as a sin. In this, as Spiegel has remarked, the Persian stood in marked contrast to his neighbours,—Indians, Mendaites, Hauranians, and others. The act itself as attributed to Daniel admits of a very natural explanation. Independently of the fact that much that would be offered to him would be already forbidden by the Mosaic Law, he was determined to avoid anything that might wittingly or unwittingly defile' him (i. 8). He was one of those high-minded Israelites who dreaded the consequences of assimilation to the habits of the Chaldæan conquerors[1]. And he therefore proposed for himself and his fellow-captives a powerful antidote to any such possible danger by refusing to share the food and wine of idolaters[2].

It is made an objection to the Book of Daniel that an atoning efficacy is attributed to alms[3]. 'Let my counsel,' says the Prophet to Nebuchadnezzar, 'be acceptable unto thee, and break off thy sins by righteousness, and thine iniquities by shewing mercy to the poor' (iv. 24). The word rendered 'righteousness' (צדקה) is taken to mean 'alms,' in accordance with the translation of the Greek and Latin Versions. If this translation be correct, it is in that sense an ἅπ. λεγ.[4], and it would be highly dangerous to argue too stringently upon it. That the translation did not satisfy Luther is seen by his adopting a rendering ('Gerechtigkeit') similar to that of the English translators. But were the translation admitted, Herzfeld[5] has yet very justly remarked that no deduction can be formed from it

[1] Comp. Ezek. xxxiii. 25; xliv. 23.

[2] Comp. the *Shulchan Aruch,* דורשי הדורות. 4ter Theil. pp. 132–3, Ed. M. Creizenach (Frank. 1840).

[3] Davidson and Hilgenfeld, ll. cc.

[4] Fürst, *Concord.* s. v.

[5] *Gesch.* Vol. I. p. 295 (1847).

as to lateness of date. The cardinal virtue here attributed to alms may well have originated during the exile. The number of the necessitous poor then was very great; and the absence of all external sacrifice would suggest of itself some condoning equivalent. The argument that the idea does not occur in the Books of the Exile or after the Exile would not be of much value were it correct. Silence on that point cannot be urged on either side. But if post-exilic writings include such works as the Books of Tobit and Judith, then the statement is incorrect. It is impossible, for example, to read the eulogy pronounced upon almsgiving by the former[1] of these Books, and not be struck with the great difference between the tone of those passages and that of Daniel.

[1] Written prob. circ. 350 B.C. Vid. Ewald, *Gesch.* Vol. IV. pp. 233–8. Comp. ch. xii. 9, xiv. 11, and Judith iv. 12. Almsgiving has there assumed the mechanism of an 'opus operatum.' Winer, *R. W. B.* s. v. *Gebet*, Vol. I. p. 398.

CHAPTER VIII.

TESTIMONIES IN FAVOUR OF THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL.

THE course of the preceding chapters has brought the discussion down to that Maccabæan era in which the opponents of the Book prefer to place its composition. This same age may in its turn be used as a convenient starting point for recalling briefly[1] some additional arguments usually adduced in defence of the Book. There are facts of a different character to those hitherto noticed, which furnish cumulative testimony of the most valuable character: without biassing, they assist in accelerating the inevitable decision,—that the work is authentic.

Looking, for instance, to the literature of the Maccabæan period, it can be shewn that the historical monuments of that age exhibit a decided acquaintance with Daniel's Prophecy. Other compositions, unquestionably anterior to that age, equally suppose its prior existence. Others, lastly, carry back its date to the canonical birth-hour,—the time of the exile. Looking forward from the Maccabæan age, numerous Jewish and Christian testimonies lend their single and united authority to the same

[1] More than briefly is not required. These arguments will be found elaborately worked up in the usual orthodox commentaries; and perhaps, though selection is difficult, by none so lucidly or so compendiously as by the latest English writers on the Book,—Messrs Boyle and Walter.

opinion. They affirm distinctly the almost unvarying consent of antiquity to the conclusion attained independently by modern criticism.

a. *Daniel and* 1 *Maccabees.*

It has been already remarked[1] that the Sibyl recognised in the Book of Daniel a genuine and authentic work: the 1st Book of Maccabees supports negatively the same opinion. It cannot be, and it is not, disputed that Daniel's personal history, and the Book which bears his name, exercised a most powerful influence upon the tone and thought of the writer of 1 Maccabees[2]. The allusions to Daniel in this Book are too numerous to be ignored. The prophetic description of Antiochus Epiphanes (xi. 29 sq.) illustrates the description of the Maccabæan author. The miraculous deliverances of Ananias Azarias and Misael from the furnace, and of Daniel from the lions' den (ii. 59, 60), are singled out by the dying Mattathias as suggestive of encouragement and praise: he appeals to them as illustrious examples of resistance to the idolater, and hails the deliverance of those patriots as an earnest of support to others. The difficulty to the modern critic created by these references is no slight one; and it can hardly be said to be obviated by the employment of an expedient convenient rather than critical. The speech of the Hasmonean chieftain, it is urged[3], is not to be taken too strictly; or, as Grimm expresses it, 'in diplomatic truthfulness.' It is merely the free composition of a writer who placed his own thoughts in the mouth of Mattathias. No proof is advanced to support this conjecture; and as a conjecture

[1] p. 302.

[2] Grimm, *Kurzgef. Exeget. Handb. zu d. Apok. d. A. T.* 3te Liefer. 'Das erste Buch d. Maccabäer.' *Einl.* p. xxii. Baihinger s. n. in Herzog's *R. E.* Zündel, p. 172. Westcott, s. n. in Smith's *Bibl. Dict.* Vol. II. pp. 169–71.

[3] Grimm, p. 49. Bleek, p. 587. Davidson, III. p. 163.

it is very unsatisfactory. Only advanced by those who reject at all hazards the belief that the Book of Daniel was extant in Mattathias' time, it is virtually refuted by its incompatibility with the universal reputation of the historical work. The style of portions of the 1 Maccabees may be poetical,—and this speech of Mattathias is marked throughout by bursts of poetic fervour,—yet the Book never loses the character of history, never ceases to be true in spirit. The general reception accorded to it is a proof of its trustworthiness and veracity: and though the references in its pages to Daniel prove only that that work was extant at the time of its own composition (circ. B.C. 100), it is very difficult to suppose that a writer reputed trustworthy would have introduced the names and deeds of fictitious heroes into a work intended to animate and encourage his countrymen[1]. Still less would he have ventured to place in the lips of one of Israel's most valiant champions references to those earlier patriots who after all were but creations of the brain.

b. *Daniel and the LXX. Version.*

The impossibility of attributing the composition of the Book of Daniel to the Seleucidan era, is also shown by the relation of the original text to the Greek translation. This version was evidently in the hands of the writer of the 1 Maccabees and the Sibyl[2]: and this being the case, it is next to impossible to suppose that the writer of the original and the Alexandrian translator could have been separated by an interval of some thirty years only. The interpolations, additions, and alterations found in the Greek version, and requiring in explanation the existence of a

[1] Cf. Josephus, *Antiq.* XII. ch. vi. § 3.

[2] Instances in each are given by Grimm, *Einl.* pp. xv, xvi, and Zündel, p. 175, respectively.

translator who wrought together current traditions and appended them to his main work[1], necessitate of themselves the assumption of a long interval, during which Daniel was subjected to numerous and various interpretations[2] till the text assumed the artificial and late form depicted in the Alexandrian rendering.

The Apocryphal additions, reputed the offspring of that period of literary activity which animated Alexandria during the last two centuries before Christ[3], tend to prove the same point. The legendary narrative of Bel and the Dragon, the story of Susanna, the canticle of the 'three children,' and the 'Prayer of Manasseh,' furnish, by their intrinsic differences from the Canonical Book, a most valuable testimony to the historic and prophetic character of the original[4]. Whether or no these additions were originally written in Aramaic is very problematic. But the question is immaterial as regards the point under discussion. One thing at least is clear, that these additions differing, as they do in style and thought, not only from the original but also from one another, were never composed at the same time. And if the Book of Daniel was written, according to modern opinion, about the year 160 B.C., how could a translation, marked by such discordant additions, have been extant in the short space of some thirty years later? Allow to the growth of tradition as rapid a progress as possible, yet the difference between the oldest of these traditions—the history of Susanna—and the original work, presupposes and requires a longer lapse of time than one generation[5].

[1] Fritzsche, *Kurgef. Exeget. Handb. zu d. Apok. d. A. T.* 1ste Liefer. 'Zusätze zu d. B. Dan.' p. 114. Westcott, 'Apocryphal Additions to Daniel' (Smith, *Bibl. Dict.*) Vol. I. p. 396.

[2] Vid. instt. in Zündel, pp. 177–82. [3] Fritzsche, l. c.

[4] S. Jerome (*Prolog. in Dan.*) mentions that in his opinion and that of Origen, Apollinarius, and Eusebius of Cæsarea, Scripture gains no authority by being trammelled with such productions.

[5] Zündel, p. 187.

c. *Daniel and Baruch.*

But it may be said that proofs of anti-Seleucid composition do not necessarily involve the other date—that of the Exile. Of themselves they do not. But criticism has voluntarily excluded fresh complication of the question, and rendered superfluous any examination of problematic and intermediate epochs of composition, by consenting to find satisfaction for its demands in one of two periods. Either the Book was a true prophecy composed by Daniel in the Babylonian period, or a spurious work published in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes. If the positive and negative results attained and enunciated in the previous pages render it impossible to admit the latter opinion, positive facts are not wanting which approximate it to, and thus identify it with the former, by exhibiting its influence at an era far closer to the Babylonian than to the Greek period.

For example: the Book of Baruch, the only apocryphal work framed upon the model of the Prophets, has been described as 'a cento of Jeremiah, Daniel, Isaiah, Nehemiah, and Deuteronomy[1].' The imitations from Daniel are in fact so numerous and evident that De Wette[2] sought to explain them by asserting that Baruch was itself a work of late origin. The opinion of the German scholar may be correct as regards the present form of the Book—a form probably fixed about B.C. 160; but that form is evidently not the original. The Book is easily divided into two main sections, each marked by its own peculiarities of style and language. The first part betrays itself as the work of a translator and not of a Hebraizing

[1] Fritzsche, *Handb. u. s. w.* 1ste Lief. 'Das B. Baruch,' p. 170. Grüneberg, *Exercitatt. de libro Baruchi Apochrypho*, p. 39 sq. (Gött. 1797). Westcott, Smith's *Bibl. Dict.* s. v. 'Baruch,' Vol. I. p. 169.

[2] *Einleit.* § 323.

Greek: the second part, on the contrary, closely approaches the Alexandrian type. This difference led Ewald[1] to assign the Hebrew portion to the close of the Persian period, or, as Dillmann[2] expresses it, to the 4th century B.C.

Now it is in the first and older part that the imitations of Daniel and Jeremiah are so frequent. In the second section the resemblances are chiefly to the tone and imagery of Isaiah and the Psalms. To find therefore in that earlier section a prayer (ii. iii.) modelled upon the inspired petition of Daniel; to meet with a historical allusion (i. 11, 12) to that Belshazzar whose name has been preserved by Daniel alone; and to trace throughout reproductions of the thoughts and language of the Babylonian prophet: these are facts which conduct logically to but one conclusion, the existence of the Book of Daniel in the Persian period; prior, that is, to the close of the 4th century B.C.

d. *Daniel and Zechariah.*

There remains one proof more, and that of the most important nature. The prophecies and visions of the first and undisputed section of the Book of Zechariah (i.—viii.) refer unquestionably to Daniel's revelations upon the four world-powers. Hofmann and Stähelin, friend and opponent, unite in acknowledging this[3].

It was a Jewish saying that the spirit of Jeremiah dwelt in Zechariah; so deeply is this prophet imbued with the tone and spirit of his great predecessor. But in the peculiarities of his prophecy Zechariah resembles far more closely Ezekiel and Daniel. Like them he is favoured

[1] *Geschichte*, u. s. w. Vol. IV. p. 230.

[2] In Dorner's *Jahrb.* p. 480 (1858), quoted by Zündel, p. 191.

[3] Zündel, p. 249. Perowne. Smith's *Dict.* s. v. Zechariah, Vol. III. p. 1822.

with visions; like them he prefers symbols and allegories to the poetical figures and beautiful metaphors of the earlier prophets; like them he beholds angels ministering before the LORD, and ready to execute His will upon earth. Some of his peculiarities were probably due to his Chaldæan education and contact with Persian theosophy[1]; others, as certainly, to his study of the ancient writings of his nation. His early life was spent amidst the scenes and associations which encompassed Ezekiel and Daniel; but as a writer of matured years he was removed from their influence by his priestly training and by residence in Palestine. It is this which explains both the resemblance and the difference between himself and those Prophets.

The series of visions distinguishing the first section of Zechariah's Book is that which exhibits the greatest resemblance to Daniel. The visions vouchsafed to Zechariah are, like those to Daniel, obscure and requiring explanation. This explanation is not given as (usually) with the older Prophets by the LORD Himself, but as with Daniel, by His angel (i. 9, 11, 12; iii. 1—6). In their selection of subjects and mode of treatment they present many points of parallelism[2]. The fourfold division of the world-powers first revealed to Daniel is continued to Zechariah in his second (ii. 1—17, E. V. i. 18—ii. 13) and last visions (vi.). Under the figure of the 'four horns' are depicted the four powers which 'have scattered Judah, Israel, and Jerusalem.' Presently the Prophet sees 'four chariots come out from between two mountains.' The horses attached to them are 'red, black, white, grisled, and bay[3],' as in the

[1] Münter, *Die Religion d. Babylonier*, p. 89 (Copenhag. 1827). Eichhorn, *Einl.* Vol. III. p. 359. De Wette, *Einl.* § 248. Hävernick, *Einl.* Vol. II. p. 406. Herzfeld, *Geschichte*, Vol. II. p. 21 (1857). Neumann, *Kommentar zu Sacharja*, p. 330 (Stuttg. 1861). Köhler, however, denies it. *Die Nachexil. Propheten.* 'Der Weissag. Sacharjas,' erste Hälfte, ch. i.–viii. (Erl. 1861).

[2] Zündel, p. 251 sq.

[3] Or, grisled and strong. ברדים ואמצים.

first vision (i. 8). They are the four spirits (or winds, marg.) which 'go forth from standing before the LORD' to execute His will (Ps. civ. 4); some to the north, some to the south, some to walk to and fro. It is added of the black and white horses that go to the north that they 'have quieted God's Spirit there.' Stähelin and Hofmann agree in referring the north to Babylon and the south to Egypt, and if by these spirits are intended the world-powers considered as agents in the performance of God's purpose,—the history of the period illustrates the prophetic vision. The Babylonian (black) became subject to the arms of Cyrus, and the Persian kingdom in its turn to that of Alexander; the successors of Alexander pushing in the direction of the south. Zechariah dwelt on the last to the exclusion of the first. The Babylonian kingdom was already overthrown by that Persian dynasty under which he lived.

These resemblances find, on their human side, a natural explanation in the influence of Daniel's writings upon the mind of an independent thinker. Zechariah's inspiration is not questioned; and this, with the further recognition in him of a mental independence acquired by his position and training, serves to explain those passages where he deviates from Daniel and draws more closely to Jeremiah. Flourishing at a period when there was a tendency to deteriorate both in thought and language, Zechariah strove to imitate as closely as possible the purity of the earlier models. He sought that purity among those recognised as the official prophets of his race. Consequently Jeremiah's conceptions and predictions upon the Messiah influenced him far more than the more developed views of Daniel. The latter was not a prophet in the Hebrew signification of the term: and when Zechariah sought for a model, he turned to one like himself, of priestly descent, rather than to the courtier of Babylon. The same cause was at work, but in a less degree, in directing his views upon angelology.

Early emancipated from the scenes which suggested and perhaps dictated so much to Daniel, living within the shadow of the Holy City itself, the conception of the Babylonian or Mazdean ceased to arrest his waking thoughts. Even the tendency to frame names personifying the angelic visitants passed from him. He recognised grades in the celestial host, but his nomenclature for the messengers of heaven was the simple description consecrated to him by the usage of the Patriarchs: he called them 'the angels of the LORD.' He borrowed from the Chaldæan system that of the adversary only,—the Satan, the resister (iii. 1); a name permitted to his conservative spirit by the prior example of the writer of the Book of Job.

Step by step the authenticity of Daniel's work is thus brought from the Maccabæan to the Babylonian period. Philological conclusions, historical facts, are supplemented by clear indications of influence upon the post-exilic writers. These form a triple cord of testimony which cannot be broken.

e. *Daniel and Josephus.*

Starting again from the same Maccabæan period, but now looking onward, one of the most valuable and interesting testimonies to the reputation of the Book of Daniel is that furnished by Josephus. The historian describes in his Antiquities[1], the entry of Alexander the Great into Jerusalem; and relates how the priests of Israel saluted the conqueror as a long-expected prince. They claimed to see in him the fulfilment of Daniel's prediction that the Greek should be victorious over the Persian. Alexander, he continues, accepted the allusion, and flattered by his reception promised and granted to his Jewish entertainers

[1] *Antiq. Jud.* XI. ch. viii. § 5 (Vol. I. p. 431, ed. Dind.).

the petitions they preferred. The courtier-historian, it is well known, is not always trustworthy—particularly in his Antiquities[1]. He appears, in that work, too professedly the panegyrist of his nation, to be altogether immaculate. It is not to be denied that he frequently incorporates popular traditions into his history, and indulges in indefensible deviations from the text of Canonical Scripture. This story of Alexander is among those condemned by critics as a popular tradition[2]. 'Not one,' it is asserted, 'of the numerous historians of the Macedonian conqueror has preserved it; while Josephus himself in a passage[3] where his apologetic object led him to enumerate all the princes and foreign generals who had ever visited the temple, beginning the series with Antiochus II. (Theos), observes a complete silence on Alexander.' He did so, it is added, 'either because he no longer believed the story, or because he did not dare to quote it in a work destined to be critically discussed.' But this criticism is itself open to criticism. The passage named hardly warrants so strong a statement. It would, on the contrary, have been very surprising had allusions to Alexander occurred in a paragraph which—far from enumerating '*all* the princes and foreign generals'—mentions no prince who lived till a hundred years after his date. It was not Josephus's object to draw attention to *all* the generals, &c. who had ever visited the Temple at Jerusalem, but simply those whose dates ranged between the times of the Antiochian family and Titus. The silence of the historians is of greater, but even then for various reasons, of no great

[1] Creuzer, 'Josephus u. seine Griesch. u. Hellenist. Führer.' *Stud. u. Krit.* p. 49 (1853). Reuss, 'Flavius Josephus.' *Nouvelle Revue de Théologie*, Vol. IV. p. 293 (1859).

[2] Reuss, p. 297. Creuzer, pp. 50–1, and note a. Ewald, *Geschichte*, Vol. IV. p. 240 sq. Bleek, *Einl.* p. 587. Davidson, Vol. III. p. 163. The quotation in the text is from Reuss' admirable article.

[3] *c. Apion.* Book II. ch. 7, (Vol. II. p. 273, ed. Dind.), a passage, by the way, only preserved in the Latin Version.

importance. It proves probably an incorrectness in details, but not necessarily the falsity of the main fact.[1] The bearing and behaviour of Alexander to the Jews, so different from that usual with him towards conquered nations; his enlistment of Jews into his army; his allotting to them an important quarter in his new city Alexandria; his restoring to them privileges of which they had long been deprived;—these facts, coupled with his well-known conviction that he was chosen by destiny for the part he was playing in the world, render no uncertain testimony to the substantial truth of Josephus's account. But even if it were impossible to determine the exact circumstances of the meeting of Alexander and the Jewish envoys, the silence of historians, so notorious for their disregard and misrepresentation of the Jewish nation[2], cannot be held to be conclusive against the occurrence of an event which must have appeared to them trivial and unintelligible. It was the opinion of Scaliger[3], no mean authority, that comparatively speaking, 'it is better to refer to Josephus than to all the Greek or Latin historians, not only for the history of the Jews, but also for that of the nations with whom he had personally no dealings.'

But Josephus's testimony to the Book of Daniel is not confined to this one story of Alexander. The manner in which he invariably speaks of the prophetic work is itself an index to his own opinion upon its merits. 'Let,' he says[4], 'those who read Daniel's prophecies...marvel at one so highly honoured.' He is 'one of the greatest of the

[1] Vid. Westcott, s. v. 'Alexander III.' Smith's *Bibl. Dict.* Vol. I. p. 43.

[2] Comp. Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 8, and authorities in Westcott, p. 44.

[3] Quoted by Paret, 'Ueber d. Pharisäismus d. Josephus,' *Stud. u. Krit.* p. 837 (1856). No contemporary author of the campaigns of Alexander survives. The best account of them is that of Arrian, who lived A.D. 200, and drew up his history from the accounts of Ptolemy son of Lagus, and Aristobulus of Cassandria.

[4] *Antiq. Jud.* XI. ch. xi. § 7. Paret, *l. c.* Gerlach, *Die Weissag. d. A. T. in d. Schriften d. Fl. Josephus*, p. 42 (Berl. 1863).

Prophets. Kings and nations combined to pay him honour while living; and though dead, his memory shall never perish.' In an interesting autobiographic passage[1], representing the historian as the expositor of the wishes of the Cæsar, Josephus appeals to Joannes and his fellow-countrymen not to resist that Roman power which was helped by God. He urged that all that was happening to them was an accomplishment of Divine prediction. 'Which of you,' he asked, 'is ignorant of the writings of the ancient Prophets? And if not, why do you forget the oracle meeting with its fulfilment now in this wretched city?' He spoke unquestionably of Daniel's prediction. Had his reference been to a spurious author he would not have been heard with patience. Both the renegade who exhorted, and the patriot who listened, knew well the full credit of the work quoted.

Further, the fact that Josephus was not acquainted with the apocryphal additions to the Books of Jeremiah and Daniel[2]; and, when speaking of the miracles of the Book of Daniel, the absence of that hesitation[3] which marks his usual treatment of the supernatural events of the Bible;—these are waifs and strays of no slight critical value. They assist in proving that if ever a man believed in the authenticity of a Book, Josephus believed in the authenticity of the Book of Daniel.

f. *Daniel and the New Testament.*

Of higher, truer value than that of Josephus is the testimony of the New Testament. The Apocalypse of S. John proves how powerful an influence the Book of Daniel exercised over the mind of the 'beloved disciple[4].'

[1] *Bell. Jud.* VI. ch. ii, § 1. Gerlach, p. 43, n. 1.
[2] Reuss, pp. 286, 292.
[3] Id. p. 291.
[4] Vid. especially Auberlen's work, pp. 79–93, 266 sq.

S. Paul's description of the Antichrist (2 Thess. ii. 4); his delegating the judgment of the world to God's saints (2 Cor. vi. 2);—have a distinct reference, verbal and doctrinal, to the teaching of the prophetic Book. The allusions to the safety of God's Prophet when cast into the den of lions, and to the deliverance of the 'three children' (Heb. xi. 33, 34), can be understood of none others than those whose perils are described in the canonical work. The title, 'Son of Man,' which broke from the lips of the dying S. Stephen, was the same as that claimed by the Holy One, itself reflected to Him from the pages of the Prophet[1].

It has been, and is still, said that these passages prove nothing more than that the Book of Daniel furnished a figure, a trope, an expression, a thought, to the writers and saints of the early Church. The Book was accepted by the Jews generally as prophetic, and the value or interpretation assigned by them to its contents acquired a hold upon the people till the power of criticism was virtually superseded. Its use therefore by the New Testament writers was due either to the opinion of the age or to sheer ignorance of its critical worth. But this reasoning will satisfy no one. Not only, because ignoring the possibility of a higher power than that of man guiding and directing the thoughts of the Apostles; but also, because inherently improbable. The great and learned pupil of Gamaliel, for example, would never have been contented any more than his master, to take the vox populi for the vox Dei. The scholar trained in the schools of Tarsus and Jerusalem would have resented as an insult the compulsory recognition—as Divine—of a work which was fit to be quoted only as he quoted the 'Oracles' of Epimenides (Titus i. 12) or the 'Phænomena' of Aratus (Acts xvii. 28).

[1] Comp. S. Matt. xvi. 13, 27; xxvi. 64, with Dan. vii. 10.

But in truth the blow aimed here at the inspiration of the Apostolic writers may be neglected in comparison with that which it levels at the testimony and divinity of Christ Himself. The Apostles were instructed by Him. They accepted what He accepted. They believed what He believed. They read the Law and the Prophets through His eyes; and in His light they saw light. With Him therefore they stand or fall. The validity or the falseness of their teaching is merged in His. To attack and repudiate Apostolic teaching is on this point to question the doctrine of the Teacher Himself.

The Saviour's discourses upon His second coming rest, it is acknowledged, upon the Book of Daniel. His allusions are too distinct to be mistaken[1]. But He does not confine Himself to allusions. In one memorable passage He refutes by anticipation every cavil against Daniel. He sat upon the Mount of Olives, the Holy City at His feet, His disciples around Him. In a few momentous words He foretold the destruction of that temple which rose before Him in all its peerless beauty. As He spake of it He gave them the token which should be the signal of their own dispersion. "When ye shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in the holy place,...then let them which be in Judæa flee[2]," &c. The words have but one plain meaning and one plain reference. As spoken by Christ they invest with authenticity, dignity, and inspiration, the author He is quoting. And yet modern opinion has not hesitated to decide that He who was the Truth spoke then but 'after the manner of His contemporaries in Palestine[3].' 'He neither was, nor from the nature of the case, could He wish to be a critical authority[4].' 'He termed Daniel a Prophet, and referred to his writings as prophecies,

[1] S. Matth. xix. 28; xxiv. 30; xxv. 1; xxvi. 64.
[2] S. Matth. xxiv. 15.
[3] Davidson, Vol. III. p. 168.
[4] De Wette, *Einl.* p. 388.

because such was the current view. He did not assume to be a critical authority, because certain errors were doctrinally harmless (!), having no proper connection with His religious teaching.' Stuart[1] once pointed out the dilemma to which this opinion logically reduces itself: 'To suppose that the Saviour made such an appeal to a book that was the comparatively recent work of an impostor, or at least of a forger of romance, is to suppose Christ Himself to have been either ignorant of the state of facts, or else willing to foster the false regard paid to the book by the Jews.' Davidson thinks proper to characterize this 'idle declamation.' 'Critical questions like the present did not,' in his opinion, 'need Christ's judgment upon them. His argumentation was sufficiently valid without it. As a Jew, He spoke to the Jews after their own manner and about their own Scriptures without pronouncing upon points foreign to the nature of His mission. To say that the question of the genuineness and authenticity of Daniel cannot be separated from that of the fallibility or infallibility of the Saviour is to assert what is false. The two things *can* and *ought* to be separated. Their connection is *not necessary*.' The Church Catholic has ever believed their connection absolutely necessary, and their separation impossible; and for the following common-sense reason. The real character of the Old Testament is stamped with the seal of Him who was the source of all revelation,—the Christ of God[2]. He would have altogether vitiated that character and counteracted His own purpose, had He ascribed to the ancient Scriptures an authority to which they could lay no claim. There are two alternatives. Either, first, He was deceived as to the authority of Moses and the Prophets; and if so, it was quite possible, if not probable, that He was deceived in His doctrinal and ethical teach-

[1] *Comm. on Dan.* p. 404.

[2] Cf. Lee, *On Inspiration*, p. 70.

ing. Or, secondly, if not deceived Himself, He yielded, He accommodated His own teaching to the deception of the day: that is, remembering the circumstances, He selected as the spot on which to inculcate this deception the Mount from which He was gazing upon the future scene of His crucifixion. From such a spot, or on such a subject, could a dying man—and He perfect man as well as perfect God—have misguided or deceived His Apostles? There were subjects on which Christ ever kept silence; there were 'things to come' concerning which He Himself confessed that the 'Son of man knew neither the day nor the hour' of their fulfilment. But it was one thing to repudiate all power to teach on points inexpedient to be communicated to man; another to put forward erroneous teaching, or support by fictitious titles what it concerned His hearers to understand. It was of the highest moment that the Apostles should know the certainty of the truths wherein they were instructed, and the genuineness of the writings which enclosed them. They were themselves to believe, and teach others to believe, all that the Lawgiver and the Prophets had foretold of their Messiah and His rebellious city. How could this be, if He who instructed them did but appeal to spurious authorities? Surely, to teach them and us things of which He knew nothing; to make statements, and attach names to writings of whose veracity He knew no more than the poor fishermen He was instructing, was to assert pretensions, and to veil an ignorance which for ever destroy His Divinity. On the other hand, to be convicted of accommodation, or, in plain words, to be proved to have adopted for true what He knew to be erroneous, is fatal to His sinlessness. Conviction on such a point would raise Christianity in arms against its Christ.

But 'let God be true, and every man a liar.' The belief in the general authenticity of the Old Testament, the belief in the particular authenticity of the Book of

Daniel, rest upon the positive testimony of the Holy Jesus. This can be maintained without for a moment excluding the legitimate use of intelligent and scientific criticism. Christ has said nothing which shall bind a man to believe that Daniel reduced the Book to its present form, but He has said that which forbids him to conjecture its author a Maccabæan scribe or an Egyptian enthusiast. It was a caution impressed by Theodoret[1] on the Jews of his day who rejected the Book of Daniel: 'Remember that in warring against the Prophet you are warring through the Prophet against the LORD of the Prophet.' I cannot think the caution superfluous or unnecessary now. The Lord of that Prophet hath borne testimony to the words of His Prophet by the mouth of His Holy Son. Shall conjectural criticism dare to defy every moral and Divine consideration by branding that Holy One the author of deliberate falsehood? Better far to probe and accept the master-belief of S. Thomas Aquinas:

> Credo quicquid dixit Dei Filius,
> Nil hoc Verbo veritatis verius.

g. *Daniel and the Church.*

The opinion advanced by the Holy One of God, and followed by His Apostles, is in full accordance with the mind and teaching of the early Jewish and Christian Churches.

The opinion of Josephus has been already quoted. He was himself but the echo of the belief of his day. The fathers of Judaism, the doctors of the great Synagogue, considered Daniel's work canonical, and enrolled it in their authenticated lists of Scripture. If in later years the Book was excluded by one extreme class from

[1] *Opera*, Vol. II. p. 1264 (ed. Migne).

the Nebi-im, and by a second rejected altogether[1]; the act of the former was due to the sharpness of a critical definition that Daniel was not a 'Nabi' properly speaking—not, that is, one sent by God in the same way as Isaiah and others; the act of the latter was due either to the supposition that he had committed an error in his computation of the 70 weeks, the result not tallying with their expectations; or, as in Theodoret's day, to the hatred entertained against the Christians for their use of his Book. Jewish tergiversation in this respect laid them open to Theodoret's sarcasm, that a people so thoroughly the slaves of tradition had reversed the opinion of the fathers of tradition[2].

The early Christian Church is not less explicit in its belief in the authenticity of the Book of Daniel. It is, unhappily, a practice with some to decry such testimony as, in plain language, a superstitious, or deferential, or ignorant perpetuation of an erroneous opinion wittingly or ignorantly projected. But the well-attested creed of ages cannot be thus summarily obliterated, or even superseded. The early writers were, it is true, theologians rather than critics. But to those who believe that a superintending Providence was pleased to rest the faith of the first Christians on the direct teaching of the Incarnate Christ, and compensate to their immediate successors the deficiencies of an uncritical age by a deeper spiritual intuition;—to such the testimony of antiquity will ever speak with a voice of its own. It will ever remain a testimony adduced not for its controversial authority—of that it has little or none—but for its moral worth; a worth commanding respect from its intrinsic beauty when reflected

[1] *Shulchan Aruch*, p. 133 (4ter Theil ed. Creizenach). R. Abarbanel was one of the former class alluded to (id. p. 135). One of the best Jewish Commentaries on the Book of Daniel is that by R. Saadja Faijumi (c. 1130 A.D.) published in the Venice and Basil Hebrew Bibles.

[2] p. 1554 (ed. *cit.*)

to modern times from the pages of the literary giants of the fourth century—S. Augustine and S. Chrysostom.

The refutation of Porphyry's work, penned by Eusebius of Cæsarea, was for the age and current learning as complete as could be furnished. S. Jerome[1]—no insignificant authority and no mean scholar—evidently thought it so. He distinctly declined to enter into controverted points, considering them already met by the work of Eusebius. He dealt with them only as they met him in the course of his Exposition, but he declined to go out of his way to discuss what in his opinion was past discussion. He certainly was not the man to evade or explain away difficulties. The same spirit animated the majority of the fathers of the Church. If in their love and attachment to the writings of the Prophet they allowed themselves expressions and titles of affection which betray the language of the heart rather than that of stern criticism, it is not that they had neglected to examine into the authenticity of his work as far as lay in their power; it is not that they were ignorant of the peculiarities and difficulties confined to his writing. If, for example, Theodoret[2] resents it as a personal injury that one whom he loves to call ὁ θειότατος should be denied the prophetic title, and expelled from the 'Chorus of the Prophets;' if S. Chrysostom[3] dwells with affectionate fondness upon the virtues and the victories of one who is to him the 'friend of God,' the 'holy Daniel;' if S. Jerome[4] insists upon the one fact so commanding, so unapproachable, that 'no one of the Prophets has ever spoken with equal clearness about Christ;' yet, in no case, is the eulogy the result of a blind unthinking faith, or a concession to a popular dictum which it would have been perilous

[1] *Prolog. in Dan.* Vol. v. p. 491 (ed. Migne).
[2] *Præf. in Dan.* p. 1255.
[3] περὶ ἀκαταλήπτου, Lib. III. § 4, Vol. I. p. 722 (ed. Migne).
[4] *Prolog. in Dan.*

to oppose. Theodoret[1] gives his reason, when he ranks Daniel among the τοῦ θείου πνεύματος ὄργανα. The sacred writings, he insisted[2], themselves prove him to be a prophet; the issue had confirmed his claim to prescience. S. Chrysostom[3] points to the prophecies, and in his 'golden' language protests against mistaken views. 'Daniel wrote them all, God revealing them to him, that those who read and have seen their fulfilment might marvel at the honour accorded to him.' S. Jerome[4] believed, it may almost be said, against belief. 'Who can understand,' he once asked, 'or explain Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel? The first has woven the web, not of a Prophecy but of a Gospel....The third has enveloped his work from beginning to end in such obscurity that the Hebrews will not suffer it to be read till the pupil has reached the mature age of thirty years. But the fourth and the last of the four Prophets, a man not only familiar with times but also the φιλοΐστωρ of the whole world, discourses clearly upon (that mysterious subject) the stone cut out of the mountain without hands and overthrowing every kingdom.'

To peruse the writings of Ephraem Syrus[5], or of Polychronius the Deacon[6] the brother of Theodore of Mopsuestia, is to discover everywhere the same estimate of the Prophet and his book. Exegesis, if more prevalent than philological and historical criticisms, is not advanced recklessly or in defiance of purely external discussion. The same result awaits the student who lingers over the loving words upon Daniel of Ammonius Presbyter, Apollinarius, S. Athanasius, S. Basil, S. Cyril, Eudoxius, Eusebius of Cæsarea, Hesychius, Origen, S. Hippolytus, Titus, and Vic-

[1] *Loc. cit.* [2] p. 1264.

[3] Κατὰ τ. Ἰουδαίους, Lib. v. § 9, p. 897, *ed. cit.*

[4] *Epist.* LIII. *Ad Paulinum*, De studio Scripturarum, Vol. I. p. 547.

[5] Vol. II. p. 480 sq. (ed. Caillau).

[6] *Script. Vet. nova Collectio*, Vol. I. p. 105 sq. ed. Mai. (Rom. 1825).

tor, treasured in the noble collection of Cardinal Mai[1]; or traces the influence of the Prophet's mind in the Homilies and Sermons of S. Augustine. To this body of divinity the Fathers of the Reformation ever turned for assistance in forming their own decision. Luther, Calvin, Melancthon, Œcolampadius, Bullinger, appeal to no other tribunal than to what they considered the highest,—the consentient unanimity of all former teachers. The Church of Christ has yet to learn that her Divine Founder would have permitted so long not only the existence of error on this subject, but also its propagation by those who were in every generation the noblest proofs of His perpetual presence among men.

To conclude; I cannot but think the hypothesis of the late composition of the Book of Daniel refuted by the positive and negative evidences brought against it. There are undoubted difficulties, historical and exegetical, encompassing the Book, but the hypothesis neither meets nor accounts for them. These difficulties the Church recognizes, but it is with a mind unshaken by the admission. Daniel comes to her commended by her Lord. He is a messenger of heaven speaking 'sealed words' (xii. 9); in their full significance exceeding that which he could fully comprehend. But in his utterance of that message the *man* appears. The Babylonian, the Jew, the courtier, the patriot, glimmer with steady light through his forms of expression, his style, his fire. At once he stamps his originality and his date, and pleads through these human elements for the recognition of what is divine. And no one in a devout frame of mind can ever take up this

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 161 sq.

inspired Book, and compare it with the choicest production of the Antiochian era, without feeling the cogency of the appeal. He will find in it the true marks of authenticity—historical accuracy and spiritual profit, instead of the puerility of fiction, or merely intellectual stimulant.

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